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The Socialist Library—IV.

Edited by J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

White Capital

and

Coloured Labour

BY

SYDNEY OLIVIER,

C.M.G.

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ERAL

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WHITE CAPITAL AND COLOURED LABOUR.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE purpose of these chapters is to discuss some aspects of the problems that arise out of intercourse between civilised Europeans, considered characteristically in their commercial and employing activities, and coloured, especially African, races, confronted with the White man in the character of manual producers and labourers, employed or sought to be employed by the commercial and productive enterprise of the European. What is the White man going to make of the Black, or the Black of the White in industry?

A good deal has been written of late on this subject, under the stimulus of the rapidly growing interests of White capitalism in Tropical labour, since the principal European Governments arranged for the partition of Africa. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has idealised one view of it for popular currency in his catchword "The White Man's Burden,"

Other writers have discoursed of "The Control of the Tropics," and "The Government of Tropical Dependencies." A theory is declaring itself, not essentially inhumane or reactionary, but adopted in cruder forms by the colonising class whose activity and enterprise create the situation to be dealt with, and markedly influential with some of the statesmen and administrators who have to deal with that situation, a theory which may be briefly summarised thus: Tropical countries are not suited for settlement by Whites. Europeans cannot labour and bring up families there. The Black can breed and labour under good government, but he cannot develop his own country's resources. He is brutish, benighted, and unprogressive. The principal reason of this condition is that his life is made so easy for him by nature that he is not forced to work. The White man, therefore, must, in the interests of humanity, make arrangements to induce the Black man to work for him. To him the economic profit, which the Black does not value and cannot use; to the latter the moral and social advancement and elevation. To effect this development is the "White Man's Burden"; in this way must we control the tropics; along these lines alone can the problem of racial relations in our new possessions be solved.

To the writer it appears that the problem contains some elements of which this diagnosis

takes too little account. "Half-devil and half-child" is the generic description offered of the material to be dealt with, and we need not altogether protest against it. But doubt and demur begin to make themselves felt as soon as we begin to consider the question what kind of a saint it is supposed can be made of the Devil, and what kind of a man of the Child. The savage is not "civilised"; is he capable of growing at all into the industrial forms of our civilisation? Are we quite sure that it is desirable that he should do so? We speak of racial characteristics. What is Race? How deep do its characteristics go? What is there in humanity that is beneath or beyond Race? And is it not conceivable that some part of that which in savage races is devilish or childish to our ideas is the evidence of a force or potentiality that may be a wholesome solvent of the conventions of our own racial and particular civilisation?

The African races, considered especially in their two principal stocks of Negro and Bantu, make up the most important uncivilised mass of coloured humanity. The Negro race has already, more than any other, been brought into intimate and influential contact with Europeans in the institution of slavery; with this we have experimented in the West Indies and in America under varying social and economic conditions. The Asiatic races,

in some cases less alien from us, seem to be further matured in their evolution, more stereotyped, and to offer less material for development and specialisation. They have evolved civilisations of their own, their populations have grown to the limit of their economic resources. European permeation and exploitation of China are hardly conceivable, in the sense in which we are beholding European permeation and exploitation of Africa. The populations of India seem little likely, within imaginable time, notwithstanding the probable growth of manufacturing industry under foreign direction among them, very greatly to alter their industrial and commercial relations towards us. The Indian, indeed, perhaps because he is less alien in race, is much more amenable to capitalist industrial methods than the African: the problems which the latter offers do not arise with him. The Red Indian, the American Indian races in general, are a dwindling and effete survival, the Pacific Island races have not the expansive fertility and the colonising vigour of the Negro.

I propose, then, to discuss, first of all the topic of Race, so as to clear the ground as far as possible of prejudice, and of some dogmatic assumptions which superficial observers are prone to make about the unalterable limitations of racial faculty. It is unquestionable that the special racial characteristics of one race may fail entirely to find a sympathetic

response in another, whose own special racial characteristics offer a stubbornly unimpressionable front to appeals which to the former appear to express the perfection of human reason. The Organon, or Logic, of inter-racial intercourse is still rudimentary. At present, the efficient conducting of such intercourse is a temperamental matter, an art; but its methods are, after all, no mystery. The faculty of dealing with savage races, like that of dealing with children, is largely a personal gift, but it rests upon reason.

It is essential to attempt to do justice to the special psychological and temperamental constitution of the African races, and to realise the conditions of life under which that mental attitude has been evolved. It is often alleged that "the native mind" of the African is inscrutable. Perhaps so: but much of its working is unaccountable only to the spectator who considers it exclusively from the standpoint of his own pursuits and interests. We shall do well, therefore, somewhat fully to examine the phenomena presented in populations of African origin which have been transplanted from their native environment and kept under the continuous influence of the White man—first in slavery, and, subsequently, as a free proletariat. The material for this survey lies in the British West Indies and in the Southern States of the American Commonwealth. Returning thence to Africa, we may

examine the conditions prevailing in European colonies there, overlying a native population, and follow the track of our survey into those regions where real colonisation is not attempted but the problem is simply that of the opening and control of tropical countries for the profit of the White investor.

Under all these diverse conditions one complaint on the part of the White is constant: that the Black man is lazy. And at the back of the Black man's mind there persists (not, as a rule, expressed—sometimes most profoundly dissembled) a rooted conviction that the White man is there to get the better of him, the Black. Both impressions are justified, and neither is entirely and finally just.

It must be admitted and borne in mind, that the public opinion that supports European Imperialism in Africa is, on the whole, a philanthropically disposed public opinion, and that there is a good deal of justification for satisfaction with the results, even allowing for all that must be said of loss to the natives. White administration does what nativea dministration in African communities never has succeeded in doing with any permanence, either at home or in Hayti: it does keep the peace and establish a basis for civil development. It is hardly, however, legitimate for any European nation to take credit for these results, as though they had been the object of

its colonisation. With rare and particular exceptions, so peculiar in their circumstances as to serve merely as proof of the rule (such as the annexation of British Bechuanaland) no nation has ever colonised, annexed, or established a sphere of influence from motives of philanthropy towards the native population. The motive cause of such action has been the interest, immediate or future, of European colonists, merchants or treasure-seekers, or to punish aggression on missionaries or explorers. And where punishment has been the object, or even where allegiance has been tendered for the purpose of getting protection, it has frequently been refused (notwithstanding all the benefits that European rule would bring), where no economic interest backed the demand. The recent partition of Africa was not engaged in and carried out from any philanthropic or humanitarian motive, but in order to ensure that the markets of the several divisions should be kept open to the several Powers that appropriated them, or, in some cases, to guarantee the frontiers of previous acquisitions from molestation.

It is essential that this subject be approached with an intelligence clear of cant. It is unjust to denounce the partition of Africa and the intercourse of the White with the Black as an unmixed evil for the latter; it is unjust (in most cases) to condemn European administra-

tors and officials as merely parasites on the countries they govern, whether India or others; but we must set out with a clear recognition of the fact that when the European colonises or annexes tropical countries the force that sets him in motion is a desire for commercial or industrial profit, and not a desire to take up the "White Man's Burden." When he really wants to do that, he becomes a missionary. There is no disparagement to the European in recognising and bearing in mind this fundamental fact. He has an undeniable right to go and peacefully seek his fortune in any part of the world without molestation. He only becomes distasteful when he begins to condemn and coerce uncivilised peoples into the mould of his personal interests under the pretext of doing them good. In hardly any nation except England and the United States is it possible, or thought necessary, that there should be a public pretence of international philanthropy in connection with Imperial expansion. Such a pretence was deliberately fomented in the United States to justify the Americo-Spanish War of 1898, the annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines and the commercial annexation of Cuba into the sphere of American exploitation, and such a pretence is almost always professed in England whenever we have similar exploits on foot. If, when we have come into contact with aboriginal races

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through such pursuit of our interests, we so order our dealings that benefits, on the whole, result to them (which is far from being entirely or always the case), if it may really be to the natives' interest that the White man should exploit his labour, that is no reason at all for taking moral credit to ourselves for colonisation. The native (bear this always well in mind) is not deceived in this matter. Hence arises that fundamental suspicion in him that we resent as so unjustifiable and uncharitable. Hence what we denounce as his treacheries and his rebellions. Moreover, no more than the trading or settling colonists do the men who go to these colonies to take part in the government go there from philanthropy. They go, as a rule, primarily to make their living, and though they may exhibit the spirit of a devoted public service, it must always be remembered that to the native they and their dependents are merely a set of rulers, making a living out of his country and out of the taxes he pays, because they cannot make it at home, and interfering with him as a pretext for doing so. We must disenchant the facts and eliminate all the glamour which our assurance as to our own moral standards and our desire to think the best of ourselves hang about them, before we can hope to form any judgment of the aspect in which those facts appear to the African.

I write without prejudice either as "Imperialist" or as "Anti-Imperialist," because it appears to me that in matters of colonisation and conquest the moral or philosophical criticism follows after, and is quite secondary in importance to, the facts of the will and interest. These lead: the necessities of survival determine expansion. No colony can be made by a theory of Imperialism: it can only be made by people who want to colonise and are capable of maintaining themselves as colonists. And it is between these persons and the natives of colonised countries that the questions I wish to deal with arise. The problems of conquest and settlement—the topics of native wars and rebellions—are preliminary to those of industrial relations, and it is no part of my purpose here to discuss their ethics.

II.

RACE.

What makes Race? It is possible, evidently, —since many people habitually do so—to conceive of races as special creations and of the individuals that compose them as beings independently created: characters entering life on earth in suitably assigned or chosen environment. But we are, I think, entitled to deal with the moulding causes of Race from the point of view of evolutionary biology, to believe, that is, that the cerebral and temperamental *distinctions* of Races have been determined and established, like their bodily differences, by the pressure of environment throughout the course of material evolution. I take it that the distinctions (I do not say the human similarities) exhibited by Races can be validly explained on Darwinian principles, and that whatever may be deemed essentially human (or essentially divine, if you will) in Man, it is certainly not his distinctions in the category of Race. There are qualities common to all races, in greater or less degree, which we recognise as specifically human, and about which great controversy has indecisively raged. as to how they could have been pro-

duced by Natural Selection: the musical sense, for example; and, still more remarkably and puzzlingly, we find in distinct races, remote in time and place, exhibitions of very specialised and elaborate human faculty and achievement in Art, Science, Philosophy, and Religion, for the birth of which it appears quite impossible to assign any plausible explanation in parallel biological causes arising out of identity in physical environment. But special differentiating characteristics of races may confidently be said to be, in great measure at any rate, reactions of the physical environment of a stock realising its will-to-live continuously and progressively under adverse, but not insuperable conditions, little altered through long periods of time. We may even go so far as to say that the special race characteristics which such protracted process will evolve, although they are, for the Race concerned, a necessary condition of its existence in its environment, are probably, at any rate, are often, limitations, excrescences or shortcomings of Humanity. It is possible to hold this judgment, both as to the savage and the civilised, without implying the dogmatic assertion of any essential or final Human type.

Moreover, as a further preliminary caution, one salient, ubiquitous reality must also be borne in mind: the infinite, inexhaustible distinctness of personality between individuals, so much a fundamental fact of life that one

almost would say that the amalgamating race-characteristics are merely incrustations concealing this sparkling variety. It is common enough, indeed, for hasty observers, whose faculties of perception and sympathy are baffled by their racial limitations, to tell us that the people of some foreign tribe or nation are all precisely alike, both in face and character: intelligent and sympathetic observation, however, will always disclose, under every human complexion and civilisation, the same independent definition of each individual that everyone imputes unquestioningly to the persons of his own intimate circle. Not even "two peas" are really alike, and no observant gardener would use the vulgar adage. Yet, again, notwithstanding all this variety amongst individuals—far wider than the variety among races—we meet, so far as Race does not preclude us from seeing it, in every human being an ultimate, unmistakable likeness, transcending Family, Race, and Nation alike, yet in no wise overbearing, nor transcending, nor neutralising his own individuality, but rather establishing and completing it, and at the same time knitting it up with our own.

What circumstances produce the typical race, the race that the Greek poets spoke of as "autochthonous"—sprung from the soil? First and chiefly the Earth—long settlement in the same country and climate. These influences having done their work, a racial type

may persist in a race become nomadic and cosmopolitan, as the Jews and the Gipsies, yet even these are modified by their domicile, and the Jew of different countries is not difficult to distinguish at sight to a trained observer. The ancient race-theory—the myth of actual earth-parentage—is practically the true account of the greater part of the matter. Whatever may be the cause or creative force of Humanity, the cause and moulding force of Race appears as local environment. It is necessary, perhaps, to emphasise this, because, to a mongrel town-dwelling population it tends to present itself as merely a poetical figure of speech. Towns do not produce races, they destroy them, as London kills out its immigrant families by the third generation. Towns doubtless produce popular types, as London the cockney, but that is a different thing. Such types vary rapidly. The town-dweller who has not himself experienced the moulding and nourishing power of Earth in natural surroundings is likely and prone to suppose that the city may do what the country does, which is not the case. The production of the Boer race, one of well-marked physical and mental characteristics, notwithstanding that it is of mongrel immigrant origin, Dutch, French, and in some degree British, is an instance of a people developed into a Race, within modern record, by the motherhood of the South African veldt, a witness of the race-

making power of the Earth still at work in her uncocknified regions.

When a race has established and maintained itself for generations in a particular environment—a primitive race not reaching as yet a very high degree of civilisation—and has staved off the revolutionary effects of excess of population by means of infanticide, organised emigration, or moderate chronic war with its neighbours, it will have fitted all its bodily adaptation and the processes of its daily life so accurately and so fully into the mould of its natural surroundings that it will not be conscious of itself as other than a part of nature. Such a race, in the vigour of its maturity, is a full cup ; its form is saturated to the skin with the energy that has forced it into the mould of life appointed ; it is sensitive at the surface, reacting immediately according to its own native impulse, not critical of its impulses, not hesitant between feeling and action, thought and word, not sceptical where it believes. It is very fully aware of the things of its own world ; it is not aware of, and does not imagine, things outside of it. The invisible, for it, abuts entirely upon, and is concerned only with, its own visible world. The habitual religiosity of the pagan resulting from this condition is unimaginable, unintelligible to the faculties of the Christian invader, whose religion is for the most part a detachable property, a matter of clergy and

Sundays. The only forces the primitive race knows are those that mould, impel, and attack it: its Gods and Devils are all concerned with itself; and thus it comes about that each natural race, when it comes to personify the invisible, no matter whether its god be singular or plural, its devils one or legion, believes and feels and knows itself to be a "chosen people." I say "knows itself" because its knowledge, like the rest of its life, will have followed the mould of its biological evolution, and because it will have acquired only such faculties of theory and understanding as its environment has determined. And accordingly when, confronted with other tribal gods, it enters upon theological criticism, it lays down unhesitatingly (if it has any sufficient self-respect) that all those gods are but idols, but that it is its Lord that made the heavens.

Moreover, it will, from precisely similar causes, develop the belief that it is the crown of Creation, free Man, and it only, and that all other nations are outer barbarians, Gentiles, savages, and by nature designed to be slaves, which it, the chosen people, will never, never be. This has constantly been the expressed theory of national sociologists in more or less primitive peoples, when they have passed into a self-conscious critical stage. Even Aristotle could not transcend this universal illusion. In this country, even among our confusedly

blended people, it had come, a few years ago, to be so unquestioningly and universally held, that Mr. Kipling's "Recessional," which expressed some post-prandial qualms in regard to it, was hailed by our national critics as an effort of superhuman inspiration, almost blasphemous in the audacity of its humility.

Because of their evolution in different environments and their differences in physical adaptation, all pure races of necessity differ one from another in their capacities, their knowledge, and their powers; and each pure race, so far as it works by the light of its own formulated conscious knowledge and critical and logical habits, is constitutionally unfitted for understanding or even imagining the existence of much that enters into the life of each of all other races and may be either the most sacred or the most commonplace thing in that life. Further, it is noticeable that more than one of the races of which we habitually speak as inferior, and which appear to be effete or decaying, are far in advance of the commercial Caucasian who is our own type and standard, not only in some of the most desirable and pleasant human qualities, but in artistic, poetical, and other of the higher spiritual forms of genius or faculty. When therefore individuals of different races are confronted, each is largely devoid of mental appliances for apprehending even the existence, far more so for understanding the sig-

nificance of much that is vividly alive and permanently important in the consciousness of the Alien. The one cannot perceive that the other is a full cup; he makes for himself a ridiculous broken caricature of a few striking characteristics as a hypothesis of the foreign creature's nature, and fills out the figure with the attributes of the children, the imbeciles and the criminals of his own nationality. I cannot refer to a better corrective of the style of illusion in relation to savage races than the late Miss Mary Kingsley's books on West Africa, in which, with a fine direct sympathy, the insight of the plain woman of genius, she analysed and appreciated the psychology of the native tribes of the "Coast"; quite seriously taking them as rational human beings to be weighed in the same scales as the white races.

The criticism, therefore, which one race may pass upon another will almost always be somewhat impertinent and provincial. Complete apprehension of the racial point of view, complete recognition of what it really is that the alien means by his formulas, is hardly to be attained. In many cases a meaning common to both races is disguised by different modes of expression; in many the two are constitutionally incapable of meaning quite the same thing. A clear understanding is essential between those who are to be fused into one organic community. What avenues have we towards inter-racial understanding?

III.

RACE FUSION.

We are confronted, in the United States, in South Africa, in India and elsewhere, with a belief on the part of the majority of the European section that the white and the coloured can blend no more than oil and water. Whatever be the explanations of race prejudice, and whatever our judgment of its significance, we must recognise its existence as a fact of solid importance in regard to coloured societies. On the other hand, it is evident that with a vigorous native stock no stable mixed community can grow up so long as colour-prejudice and race antagonism maintain their supremacy. Such a condition is only compatible with the institution of slavery. Whether the white man likes it or not, the fact must be faced that under the modern system of industry, which deals with the coloured man as an independent wage-earner, and in which he has the stimulus of the white man's ideals of education, the coloured man must advance, and he visibly does advance, to a level of understanding and self-reliance in which he will not accept the negrophobist theory of exclusion. Especially will this be

the case if the doctrines of Christianity are communicated to the natives, and the New Testament placed in their hands; as the feudalism of Europe discovered when the same revolutionary matter got into the heads and hands of its peasantries. The condition of the society in which this process is taking place grows increasingly unstable, unless the race prejudice and race division are modified. How can this come about?

In the history of the world it has practically come about to a vast extent by interbreeding and mixture of races. And though the idea of this method may be scouted as out of the range of practical consideration or influence in connection with modern colour problems, and though I should admit that it may tend to diminish in importance as compared with direct mental influences, yet I consider that the tendency of opinion and sentiment at the present in the ascendant is unduly to undervalue its real importance, and I propose to give reasons for thinking that where it takes place it is advantageous. We should at least give full credit to its possibilities before passing to consider other methods of fusion.

The question of the relations between black and white is obscured by a mass of prejudice and ignorance and blindness, proportional to the isolating differences in their evolved constitutions. These barriers are not different in

kind or in strength from those which once separated neighbouring European tribes. What has happened as between these we can trace and recognise, and this recognition will help us to approach the contemporary problem.

What happens when two persons of different race intermarry? Each race, we have argued, has evolved its own specialised body, adapted to a certain range of human capacities. In neither case, one may say in no possible case, is the race-body (including the brain and nervous system) anything approaching to a competent vehicle of all the qualities and powers that we imply by humanity. Of course, we have had very splendid and comprehensive human types among those races of whose activities and productions records remain, and doubtless there have been others equally capable, of which we have no record, but none that we can judge of (I certainly should not accept the Greeks of the Periclean age) come near to satisfying us as completely capable of all the human apprehension and activity known to us. I do not wish to overweigh this idea of the limitation of racial faculty which will always yield, more or less, to educational influences. The truly great men of all races are visibly near akin. Each race, too, I have argued, is likely to exhibit habitually a good deal of human faculty that is absent in the other. So far, then, as there survives in a

mixed race the racial body of each of its parents, so far it is a superior human being, or rather, I would say, potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity. I say this with reservation, because there are certain sets-off to the advantages of hybridisation which must be taken into account, and to which I shall return later. To people who have a horror of "colour" I would here observe that I am thinking not only of mulattoes or crosses with coloured races, but equally of the European interbreedings that have produced the most progressive of "white" nations, including our own, and of blends of coloured races.

The physiological aspect of hybridisation may be likened to the process of candy-pulling, in the making of sticks of striped sweetstuff. The human body, we learn (at this stage of microscope manufacture), originates from the union of two cells. Each cell, theoretically (so I read) can build up a whole new body by itself. In practice it habitually combines for the work with another cell, supplied by a parent of opposite sex. Now these two cells, if I do not misrepresent the accepted physiological hypothesis, do not set to work on the principle of the division of labour and specialisation of function, each to build up that part of the new body which it can do best—in which case we might have the Caucasian brain protected by the African

skull, to say nothing of such more valuable combinations as everyone can imagine for himself—but proceed to develop themselves in conjunction throughout the whole process of cell-building, so that every cell in the body may be said to consist of a thread of the race of each parent, side by side with a thread of that of the other. If, therefore, both threads hold their vigour throughout, it would appear that the force that goes to the making of man has at any rate a more widely ranging instrument to play on for its purposes. How far it will be a stronger, and how far, as it often is in some respects, a less reliable instrument, will depend on a great many things on which it is tolerably easy to weave theories, but dangerous to attempt to dogmatise.

When the hybrid of a first cross pairs with another of the similar cross, the threads of each race element in each cell will be doubled and twice as fine. You see this when you double your first two amalgamated sticks of white and red sugar and pull them out again. And as you double and double and pull again and again, you get in time from a streaked mechanical combination of red and white what comes to look like a homogeneous mass of pink. In the course of a number of generations of interbreeding of hybrids of two original races you get something like a real new race combining in a true amalgam the capacities of both.

Now the fact is that the distinction between the two sets of threads does persist for a great many generations, notwithstanding the modifying influence of environment, which tends to overcome the immigrant type, or both types if the home of the hybrid race is different from that of either parent. At first, however, in many cases the hybrid will really be obviously and conspicuously two kinds of man. When the red cell and the white have done their parts side by side, they will be conscious of and internally criticise one another. This very often spoils the hybrid's digestion. Quite often, of course, the joint work is more efficient. And sometimes, when the white cell has done work unfamiliar to the red or the red to the white, the one may have been unable to maintain any balance with the other, and will probably be quite unable to control its proceedings when its primitive instincts are strongly aroused.

Indeed it would appear, in occasional crises, as though the whole vitality, power, and consciousness transferred itself to one side of the combination, as occurs in case of multiple personality under hypnotic influence. And this transference is by no means always to the side of the race reputed inferior. If the mulatto may "go Fantee" he may also, at times, entirely shed his African instincts and consciousness.

Such cases, however, are rare: for the most

part there appears to be a mixture of character with a good deal of double consciousness, so that to a fortunately constituted hybrid his ancestors are a perpetual feast; he knows them from inside, and he sees them from outside simultaneously. I do not go so far as to say that a man to be a good critic must be a hybrid, but I fancy it would be found to be pretty true. The foreigner constantly makes the mistake of thinking that Englishmen and Scotsmen are hypocrites. Only one who is both an Englishman and a foreigner—whether Irish, Welsh, Cornish, French, Spaniard, German, or Jew on his alien side, can really appreciate and enjoy to the full the gorgeous feast of contemporary British psychology. Its most humorous, because most sympathetic, satirists are Englishmen of mixed race.

A further characteristic in the hybrid as distinguished from the man of pure race may be usefully noted. Whereas the pure race in its prime knows one Man only, itself, and one God, its own Will, the hybrid is incapable of this exclusive racial pride, and inevitably becomes aware that there is something, the something that we call the Human, which is greater than the one race or the other, and something in the nature of spiritual power that is stronger than national God or Will. What were, to each separate race, final forms of truth, become, when competing in the focus of our human consciousness, mutually

destructive, and each recognisably insufficient. Yet the hybrid finds himself still very much alive, and not at all extinguished with the collapse of his racial theories.

An experience somewhat similar occurs to a race whose racial God is deposed by conquest: and where a conquered race has not, as the Jews and several other nomad races have done, transcended the usual domiciliary and settled habits of permanent races, has not spiritualised and mobilised its God and moved conquering among its nominal conquerors, we have seen either a practically Atheistic philosophy adopted, of renunciation of the Will, or a second new God set up, as among the mixed broken peoples of the Roman Empire, the God of the human and the conquered, who knows himself something more than his conqueror. Even Imperial Rome, which went further in its deification of of its own will than any great people on earth, by making its Commander-in-Chief, its Cæsar, its national God, was captured by the reaction of the culture of the nations whom it overran. The flood of Oriental mysticism swamped the old tribal fetichism of Rome, and thus prepared the way for much of what grew into Christianity.

But it is not only cultured and civilised races that know themselves more than the beefwitted race that conquers them. I pass from the case of hybridised peoples and deal

with that of the survivors of an ancient conquered race. If they avoid physical degeneration, as, retaining their old habitat, there is no presumption that they will not, they do remain to a great extent invincible. So long as they remain a race their God, their Will, their pride of place as the chosen people, survives; and they see, often, that the conqueror is only a heavy-fisted brute, to whom they know themselves superior, not, indeed, in all valuable qualities, but in many of those which mankind most values and which are most distinctively human. We need not speak yet of the African, or even of the Hindoo. The Irish, doubtless, recognise that the English have great qualities, and yet it has not been possible for them to accept English rule. All other nations of the world do Irishmen the justice of perceiving that they have a share of the qualities the absence of which in the typical Englishman has rendered him pretty widely disliked, and when not feared, despised, as lacking in essential humanities. Now not only the Irish race under the English, but every conquered race that remains unmixed, retains in itself this seed of invincibility, this treasure that it has and its conqueror has not, which makes it the superior of its conqueror, so long as he treats it not as human but as alien and inferior. I believe that every race (not hybridised) despises its conqueror, just as woman treated likewise by man despises him—

to the full as much as he in his claim to the lordship of creation disparages her.

In fact, the lack of mutual understanding that arises from Race is strikingly analogous to that which arises from difference of sex, both in its origins and in its manifestations. The origin is bound up with differences of bodily adaption and function. How common it is for each sex, in moments of irritation, to charge the other with perfidy and lack of straightforwardness. How universal is this same accusation between different races But the fact is that the truth is really different for different races and for the different sexes. They live to some extent in different worlds. A conquered race that speaks two languages will tell the truth in its own language, and will lie in that of its conquerors—very often from an honest desire to tell what it supposes to be the conqueror's truth, namely, what he desires, what is real for him through expressing his will. This phenomenon is familiar from the Groves of Blarney to the haunts of the Heathen Chinee.

IV.

THE TRANSPLANTED AFRICAN.

(1.)

The future of the relations between White Capital and Coloured Labour depends so largely on the possibility of Race-fusion either by the bodily process of blending by intermarriage, or by some alternative psychical process of establishing sympathetic understanding, that we must examine what, be it little or much, has been done in this direction in those communities in which people of European and African races have been forced into close social contact. This has been most markedly the case in European Colonies into which Africans were introduced as slaves, and in which such contact has been closely maintained for generations without the neutralising influence of a background of savagery, such as has existed in African countries. Here, then, I will proceed to deal with the results which have been manifested in such mixed communities in the West Indies and the United States, glancing first at the results of interbreeding, and subsequently at the effects and promise of other influences.

The writer of these chapters has for many years been connected with and concerned in

the administration of British West Indian Colonies, in which the great bulk of the population is descended from African slaves and is still very largely of pure African race. He has resided in or has visited all these Colonies, except the Bahama group, including British Guiana and British Honduras. He has spent nearly five years in the Island of Jamaica, and has a special and fairly thorough knowledge of that community. In no field is there better material for a study of the effects of the prolonged collocation of White and Black in the relation of employer and employed; and, whilst the different conditions of other colonies have produced somewhat different results, an understanding of the phenomena of Jamaican society may be regarded as affording a very good foundation for a judgment as to the possibilities of racial interaction in any such British community. With regard to Foreign Colonial communities, of which I have no direct knowledge, I do not propose to attempt to generalise.

It is still not uncommon to hear West Indian eulogists of the good old days enlarging on the industrial virtues of the old-time slave as compared with the type of free negro produced by two generations of emancipation. These moralists belong strictly to the same school as those who preach, elsewhere, the necessity for forced labour for the

improvement of the African in his own country. Whatever may be the weight of their argument on that line, we may at any rate accept from them the implied admission that the African is capable of improvement, that there was evolved under slavery in the West Indies something humanly superior to the West African pagan. They will even maintain that the old-time negro exhibited often a high and effectual example of the Christian religion, that he was personally loyal and devoted to his masters and their families, and that he was a capable and industrious labourer and artisan. Let us bear in mind these admissions and survey the present condition of the transplanted negro, and see what vestiges of social virtue are left him. We will then approach his position in industrial relations, and consider what this portends.

In all the British West Indies the coloured population enormously outnumbers the White. The social and industrial conditions vary considerably. Where the sugar industry survives as the principal support of the community, the land is still for the most part held in biggish estates, and the labouring population is employed at wages. This is especially the case in Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts. It is the circumstance that land has been so monopolised, and that the descendants of the slaves have therefore been com-

pelled to work on the estates for such wages as the estates would give, that alone maintained the sugar industry in these islands, whilst it failed to so great an extent where the negro was not under like compulsion to work. And it is in islands and districts where the sugar estate industry has been thus maintained that the condition of the West Indian negro is poorest and most degraded. In the more important colonies of Trinidad and Demerara the labour supply for estates is principally provided by indentured East Indian coolies, whilst the bulk of the negro population is settled, as it is in Grenada, Dominica, and Montserrat, under conditions more nearly approaching those which are to be found most fully established in Jamaica, that is to say, as a peasant proprietary, not primarily dependent upon wage employment, but supplying a more or less uncertain amount of labour available for the larger plantations. Setting Barbados apart as a unique community, the future of which it would be exceedingly difficult to forecast, because there, owing to close land monopoly and great density of population, there is a thoroughly European confrontation of capitalist and proletariat classes, Jamaica may be taken as the type of what the ordinary British West Indian Colony appears destined to become.

The people of Jamaica are mostly negroes,

with but little admixture of white blood. The predominant status is that of peasant proprietors, although in some districts considerable numbers still live and work for wages on estates, and own no land. But where they do not own land they almost always rent land, and depend largely for their maintenance upon its produce. The number of this class amounts to about 700,000. The extent to which land is distributed among them is indicated by the fact that out of 113,000 holdings of property on the Valuation Roll of the Island in 1905, 106,000 were below £100, and 91,260 below £40 in value. Practically all these small holdings are owned by the black peasantry and coloured people, the acreage varying from less than an acre to 50 or 100 acres. Next in number to the nearly pure negro peasant class comes the considerable coloured class of mixed African and European descent, which largely supplies the artisans and tradesmen of the community. Very many of this class are landowners and planters, many are overseers and bookkeepers on estates, many commercial clerks, and some are engaged in the professions of law and medicine. Many clergy of all the Protestant denominations are black or coloured; so are all the elementary schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and some of the teachers in the few second grade schools. There are not more than 15,000 persons in the island (in-

cluding Jews) who claim to be of unmixed white race. These whites predominate in the governing and employing class, and as merchants or planters direct and lead the industrial life of the island.

Now what are the social relations in this mixed community? There is no artificial or conventional disqualification whatever to bar any Jamaican of negro or mixed race from occupying any position for which he is intellectually qualified in any department of the social life of the island, including the public service. Many coloured men are magistrates of Petty Sessions, more than one holds the office of Custos—that is to say, of chief magistrate of their parishes; more than one hold or have held stipendiary magistracies under the Government. These positions they fill with credit. According to their professional position they associate with the white residents on precisely the same terms as persons of pure European extraction. In practice it is the fact that the pure negro does not show the business capacity and ambition of the man of mixed race, and there are few, if any, persons of pure African extraction in positions of high consideration, authority, or responsibility.

I would not be understood as asserting that there is not colour-prejudice in Jamaica, or in any other British West Indian Colony—that is to say, that there is in the minds of domiciled Europeans nothing answering to the

hostility and contempt towards black and coloured people which is boasted by many spokesmen of white folk in the Southern States of America and prevalent now in South Africa; or that there is not, conversely, a latent jealousy of and hostility towards the "buckra" in the temperament of the black and coloured, which may lend itself on occasions to the inflammatory excitement of a cry of "Colour for colour. Race for race." Such prejudice, however, does not appear on the surface, and such as there is is unquestionably diminishing. It is strongest (on both sides) in the women and on the woman's side of life. The late Mr. Grant Allen's novel, "In all Shades," depicting his impressions of colour-prejudice in Jamaican white society, as remembered from thirty or forty years ago, reads to-day as a grotesque extravagance, and might appear to have been imagined by a writer who had never been in the island, but who had read into its society the virulent colour-prejudice prevailing to-day in the Southern States of the American Union.

But though in Jamaica and in other West Indian Colonies, there may be, in general social and professional relations, no barrier against intermixture, there is, beyond question, an aversion on the part of white Creoles to intermarriage with coloured families, and this aversion may, I think, be relied on, at any rate for a long time to come, to check, in

practice, any such obliteration of race distinctions as is foreboded by negrophobists in the United States as the necessary result of the admission of social equality.

It is true that in these Colonies you will occasionally find Creoles of mixed race in good positions married to ladies of pure European blood. But, as a rule, such marriages will not have been made in the Colony, but in England, where there is less sensibility on such matters. Again, you will find men of pure European extraction and good position with Creole wives of mixed race, though perhaps not without special information to be identified as such, nor disposed to be so identified. Moreover, in the lower social ranks of employees in stores, so far as these are recruited from Europe, such mixed marriages may frequently be met with.

On the whole, however, it does not appear to me that admission to social and professional equality, when resulting from compatibility of temperament and interests, does, in fact, conduce necessarily or strongly to likelihood of intermarriage: at any rate of frequent and habitual and unhesitating intermarriage.

I myself began my connection with the West Indies under the prejudices of the theory of the degeneracy of the offspring of interbreeding, which was commoner, perhaps, at that time, in the writings of anthropologists

than it is now; but I have found myself unable to establish any judgment on the facts in support of any such sweeping generalisation. The effects of a first cross are, no doubt, constitutionally disturbing, and many persons of mixed origin are of poor physique. But the phthisis and other diseases from which they suffer are equally common among the West Indian negro population of apparently pure African blood, and arise among these from the overcrowding of dwellings, bad nutrition, insanitary habits, and other preventible causes. There may naturally be aversion on the part of and a strong social objection on behalf of the white woman against her marriage with a black or coloured man. There is no correspondingly strong instinctive aversion, nor is there so strong an ostensible social objection to a white man's marrying a woman of mixed descent. The latter kind of union is much more likely to occur than the former. There is good biological reason for this distinction. Whatever the potentialities of the African stocks as a vehicle for human manifestation, and I myself believe them to be, like those of the Russian people, exceedingly important and valuable—a matrix of emotional and spiritual energies that have yet to find their human expression in suitably adapted forms—the white races are now, in fact, by far the further advanced in effectual human development, and it would

be expedient on this account alone that their maternity should be economised to the utmost. A woman may be the mother of a limited number of children, and our notion of the number advisable is contracting: it is bad natural economy, and instinct very potently opposes it, to breed backwards from her. There is no such reason against the begetting of children by white men in countries where, if they are to breed at all, it must be with women of coloured or mixed race. The offspring of such breeding, whether legitimate or illegitimate, is, from the point of view of efficiency, an acquisition to the community, and, under favourable conditions, an advance on the pure bred African. For notwithstanding all that it may be possible to adduce in justification of that prejudice against the mixed race, of which I have spoken, and which I have myself fully shared, I am convinced that this class as it at present exists is a valuable and indispensable part of any West Indian community, and that a colony of black, coloured, and whites has far more organic efficiency and far more promise in it than a colony of black and white alone. A community of white and black alone is in far greater danger of remaining, so far as the unofficial classes are concerned, a community of employers and serfs, concessionaires and tributaries, with, at best, a bureaucracy to keep the peace between them. The graded mixed

class in Jamaica helps to make an organic whole of the community and saves it from this distinct cleavage.

A very significant light is thrown on the psychology of colour prejudice in mixed communities by the fact that, in the whites, it is stronger against the coloured than against the black. I believe this is chiefly because the coloured intermediate class do form such a bridge as I have described, and undermine, or threaten to undermine, the economic and social ascendancy of the white, hitherto the dominant aristocracy of these communities. This jealousy or indignation is much more pungent than the alleged natural instinct of racial-aversion.

The status of such blended communities among human societies may not be high, but the white man has, in fact, created them, and continues to do so, and whatever undesirable characteristics, moral or physical, may be accentuated by interbreeding, it is certain that, from the point of view of social vitality and efficiency, it is not the mixed coloured class, if any, that is decadent in Jamaica. Where, therefore, we have created and are developing a community of diverse races, I cannot, in the light of British West Indian conditions, admit that interbreeding is necessarily an evil. I think, rather, that where we have such a community we had better make up our mind not only not to despise the off-

spring of the illicit interbreeding that invariably takes place in such conditions, but to make our account for a certain amount of legitimate and honourable interbreeding, and to look upon it, not as an evil, but as an advantage. We need not be much afraid that those persons, the race-purity of whose offspring it is essential for the world to maintain, are going to plunge into a cataract of mixed matrimony. Such a development is not at all probable.

V.

THE TRANSPLANTED AFRICAN.

(2).

It is obvious from the present state of social relations between white, coloured and black in Jamaica that it is possible for a very much healthier balance of feeling to be arrived at in such a community than has been attained in the United States of America, or in our own South African Colonies. In visits to that country during the last fifteen years, and in talks with Americans in the West Indies, I have constantly been impressed with what, in the light of West Indian experience, have appeared to me exaggerated and ill-founded apprehensions of the dangers and difficulties inherent in a community predominantly composed of coloured folk, apprehensions which practically do not affect or disturb us at all. Visitors to Jamaica—British as well as American—discussing with me our conditions there prevailing have asked me how we confront this or that problem or difficulty connected with the intermixture of races which is, or threatens to be, a perplexity in the United States. On such occasions I have

found myself as a British West Indian unable to entirely account for an attitude of mind which impressed me as superstitious, if not hysterical, and as indicating misapprehensions of premises very ominous for the United States in the future, but which would appear from the tone of the Southern Press on this subject to be increasingly general in the community in regard to the race question.

I was consequently led to examine, in visits to the United States, in what respects the attitude of white towards coloured is different in our Colonies, and how far such difference of attitude contributes to explain the greater security and promise of mixed society there. Being convinced that industrial harmony between white and dark races may be established more effectually by human understandings and sympathies than by what the sociologists call "economic motive," a fact which, because of the characteristics of the African temperament, is much more saliently true in regard to the confrontation of white capital with coloured labour than in purely European communities, I think it important to pursue the question of the moral capacity of the African in the light which is thrown upon it by his position in the United States.

I pass over for the present, but shall return to, the charges of the industrial vices of laziness and slovenliness, admitting that there is

abundant ground for these, and also for the charges of thievishness and sexual instability against the normal negro. It may be noted that these charges are made against the African in all parts of the world, even by his most sympathetic critics. On the other hand, very many examples, both in America and the West Indies, have proved that the sons and daughters of the race can transcend these racial propensities. It is abundantly proved that the prejudice which difference of skin and repugnant savage habits have sown, to say nothing of industrial jealousy and the hatred which abides in the injurer against the race he has once oppressed, but now sees free and nominally before the law his equal—cannot be defended by appeal to any insuperable distinction in any category of human quality or capacity: doubt only arises as to whether the exceptional individuals who may be chosen for test comparisons are really of unmixed African blood. If so, it is nothing to the point that they are exceptions: they suffice to disprove the theory of the negrophobist: the theory which, as held in the Southern States of America and in some British Colonies, comes, in substance, to this—that the negro is an inferior order in nature to the white man, in the same sense that the ape may be said to be so. It is really upon this theory that American negrophobia rests, and not upon the viciousness or criminality of the

negro. This viciousness and criminality are, in fact, largely invented, imputed, and exaggerated, in order to support and justify the propaganda of race exclusiveness.

The determined opposition in the United States to the admission of the possibility of "social equality," such a degree of social and professional equality as I have described as established in the West Indies, springs principally, if not entirely, from two sources, the fear of race mixture by intermarriage, and the fear of industrial competition. The first appears to a stranger to be the more active: perhaps because it appeals more to the class who write, or whom he meets in discussion, upon the subject. It is to be feared that if "social equality" is tolerated, the "poor white" man will be attracted to marry the well-to-do coloured young woman; the "poor white" girl the capable and pushing mulatto. No doubt this probability is greater in the United States, where there is a large "poor white" class, than in the West Indies, where there is little of such a class. But, as I have explained, the social and professional equality attained in the West Indies has not yet obliterated race prejudice in regard to marriage. Nor, where there has been interbreeding, have the effects been at all disastrous to the community, nor, where there has been some evil in it, is the evil uncompensated by distinct advantages. The principal evil, indeed,

appears to me to be that the offspring of interbreeding are liable to be despised and insulted and held in indefensible disparagement by unintelligent and ill-conditioned white people.

It is interesting to note how experience in the West Indies disproves the theory of American negrophobists that the vices which they impute to the negro as justifying their race-persecution are unchangeably inherent in the race. I was in the United States just before the last Presidential election; and at that time the Southern Press was threatening Mr. Roosevelt that he would lose votes in the South, not only because he had allowed Mr. Booker Washington, the foremost coloured man in the nation, to lunch with him, but because, it was alleged, the effect of a Republican administration was to encourage a saucy attitude in the negro, whereas Democracy knew how to keep him in his proper place. On investigating what was meant by a saucy attitude, which editors were not slow quite frankly to explain, it appeared that it meant no more than that the negro was more disposed to assume, under a Republican administration, that he was to be regarded as just as much a human being as the white man, whereas (strange interpretation of the idea of democracy) it was essential that the community should insist upon the fact that his race, or any admixture of such race, ren-

ders him essentially and permanently different, so that he must ever remain a creature bound by nature to pay respect and subservience to white Americans of whatever extraction, no matter what his and their relative qualifications in other categories than those of race may be.

Now, it may be that the United States have produced quite a different type of negro or coloured person from what has been produced by the different conditions in Jamaica. Impudence—sauciness—is an offensive human quality, to be found in great perfection among the city populations of all white communities. Doubtless, Nature has largely endowed the negro with the faculty of impudence, and it may well be that this faculty is more offensively developed by some social conditions than by others. But the phenomenon is not a necessary one. It is not obtrusive in Jamaica. White people there do not suffer from impudence on the part of black or coloured unless it is provoked by bad manners and unwarrantable pretensions. In the matter of natural good manners and civil disposition the black people of Jamaica are very far, and, indeed, out of comparison, superior to the members of the corresponding class in England, America, or North Germany. Any man or woman who addresses a native Jamaican with reasonable civility and without condescension or arrogance—that is to say, in a

rational and proper human manner, will find himself outrun in nine cases out of ten by the natural and kindly courtesy and goodwill of the reply and reception which he will meet with.

Yet the Jamaican has enough fundamental independence of spirit to resent an uncivil or overbearing address, and such resentment in the uneducated or uncouth person will naturally exhibit itself in impudence or sauciness. In any competition of offensiveness and bad manners the sensitiveness and quick wit of the African tend to give him a decided advantage. Excluding such circumstances, the manners, even of the town population, are gentler and more agreeable than those which one is accustomed to meet with in most places of European resort. And, generally, in this matter of courtesy, which is essential to the relation of equality, I should be prepared to maintain that the African is, by the temperament and customs of his race, not inferior but superior to the average Teuton, and I am forced to attribute the "sauciness" complained of in the negro of the Southern States and elsewhere far more to the attitude which has been taken and which is maintained towards him, than to any inherent fault in his composition. This courtesy of the African races, which is just as much a characteristic part of their "nature" as is their faculty of self-assertion and insolence, is a

very valuable social quality, and it is a great loss to any community that such a quality should be destroyed or obscured by social antagonism.

The typical and characteristic excess of the negrophobist tendency in the United States is exhibited in the lynching and torturing of coloured persons convicted, accused, or suspected of crime: or even on less tangible pretexts or provocations. I do not desire to criticise these extravagances on the score of their special atrocity as methods of social discipline. The normal processes of British criminal law are themselves a nightmare of insane and degrading futility. I am here only concerned with the practice of lynching in regard to its alleged necessity as a terror to coloured offenders on account of their special propensities.

"We must protect our Women": that is the formula. It is true that the statistics of lynchings show that by far the greatest proportion of them follow cases of murder or complicity in murder, and only about 20 per cent. cases of criminal assault or attempts at such assault. This plea, therefore, really covers but a small part of the ground. But as it is the last entrenchment of those who advocate differentiation against the negro, and appeals to the same sentiment as does that argument for social injustice as an antidote to the menace of "social equality" with

which I have dealt above, it is important to examine it in the light of social experience in British West Indian Colonies.

Now the fact is that in the British West Indies assaults by black or coloured men on white women or children are practically altogether unknown. No apprehension of them whatever troubles society. I say this as an administrator familiar with the judicial statistics, as a resident familiar with all parts of Jamaica and all classes of its population, as the head of a household of women and girls which have frequented the suburbs of Kingston, and lived for weeks and months in remote country districts with neither myself nor any other white man within call. Any resident in Jamaica will tell the same story. A young white woman can walk alone in the hills or to Kingston, in daylight or dark, through populous settlements of exclusively black or coloured folk, without encountering anything but friendly salutation from man or woman. Single ladies may hire a carriage and drive all over the Island without trouble or molestation. Offences against women and children come into the courts: but they are not against white women and children. Whatever may be the cause, it is the indisputable fact that Jamaica, or any other West Indian Island, is as safe for white women to go about in, if not safer than any European country with which I am acquainted. There have

been no savage punishments here, no terrorism, no special laws, no illegal discriminations against the coloured. If, then, there is special ground for fearing assaults of this character by coloured on white in America, it clearly cannot possibly be due to any necessary or special propensity of race.

I cannot but surmise that any propensity there may be to such assaults in the United States is stimulated by the very character of the attitude of the white towards the coloured population. There is maintained a constant storm of suggestion to the most imaginative and uncontrollable of passions in an excitable and imaginative race. If we had anything like the same amount of suggestion abroad in the British West Indies I should fear that we might begin to hear of these criminal assaults in something like the same proportion to other crime as we hear of them in discussions of the colour-difficulty in the United States. When one class makes to another, whose women it has continually made the mothers of its own offspring, the preposterous and self-damnatory announcement that it is an animal of an inferior order, so soon it not only arouses all the irrepressible self-assertiveness of the human claim to equality, which is as fundamental in the African as in any other race, but also introduces a special prompting to the assertion and demonstration of that equality in a category that might otherwise pass as neutral

in regard to any such claims. It seems to me, then, that this danger, such as it is, is enormously increased, if indeed it is not entirely created, by the extreme race-barrier theory.

VI.

THE TRANSPLANTED AFRICAN.

(3).

I BELIEVE that the most important of all factors in bringing about the unpromising distinction of feeling on colour questions observable as between the British West Indies and the United States has been the operation of the American Constitution. The political conditions under which the African stock has had to develop during the last forty years have been quite different in the two countries. Emancipation in the West Indies, moreover, took place thirty years earlier and the *modus vivendi* which then established itself has had so much longer to produce its more conciliatory effects. The negroes did not, in our colonies, receive, in fact or in name, direct political power. This was limited by a substantial property test. The industrial and economic results of emancipation in the West Indies were far-reaching, but there was no political revolution, no vast new class of citizens enjoying the franchise and totally unprepared and unqualified for its responsible or efficient exercise was created. In administra-

tive matters there was continuity of government controlled by humane and reasonable principles; and when the class-partiality of the magistracy in Jamaica produced the so-called "Rebellion" of 1865, the political result was to substitute for an oligarchical constitution the benevolent despotism of Crown Government, which does not acknowledge that the negro, or, indeed, any other class of citizen in a West Indian community, has a natural or indefeasible right to the franchise. It placed responsible power in the hands of the Governor and rendered his administration much more amenable to the control of British public opinion than the administration of a local white oligarchy could be. Since the institution of Crown Government in Jamaica (now modified by an elective element in the Legislature) it may safely be said that the black population has had no acute class grievance. The government has been administered with a full regard to its rights and interests, and with just repression of disorderly tendencies.

In the United States these conditions have been markedly absent. Political power was conferred on great masses of the emancipated slaves; their ignorance, their incapacity, their vanity, and their cupidity were appealed to by political adventurers, and the exercise of their political power became necessarily a matter of apprehension to the class hitherto

their masters and rulers. The situation was not met, it could not, under the American Constitution, be met in the manner in which it was dealt with in the British Colonies. The political dangers apprehended, and the social irregularities of the coloured population were met and fought by underhand, unjust and violent methods. In politics the constitution was strained and the voting system openly jockeyed and set at nought. In judicial matters resort was had to popular violence and terrorism against the negro. The coloured population there not only has an ostensible grievance, but is continually made to feel that grievance with greater acuteness. The intelligence and critical power of the coloured folk advance, and they see the significance of their position more and more clearly. The tendency of the Southern Press and of Southern public men is more and more to urge their progressive exclusion from equal consideration in politics or in law. There is in the United States not only a democratic political franchise for their National and State Legislatures, but a Civil Service and a Judicial Bench, the appointments to which rest also in theory on the votes of the citizens. We in England consider an elective civil service and an elective judiciary to indicate a mistake in constitution building; but, it would seem to us a far greater insanity to suppose such arrangements workable in a community in

which the majority of electors are newly-freed plantation negro slaves, or even a population on the level of the average Jamaica peasant. It was natural and practically inevitable that such a situation should be fought as intolerable by the whites of the South, and that, the American constitution being in fact unworkable without disaster under such circumstances, its provisions should have been evaded by methods constitutionally indefensible and unjust. If the same mistake had been made in any British community, similar violence, if not by the same method, would have been done to the constitution. The form of the American constitution, asserting full and equal rights of citizenship for all adult males, gives the coloured race a permanent plea of injustice when those rights are abrogated in practice, and places the white in the permanent false situation of holding by violence and constitutionally unjust expedients a position socially expedient and proved by the history of the West Indies to be favourable to the development of the coloured people. Such a situation is acutely demoralising to white and black alike, and to justify it the minority vilify the character of coloured people, and depreciate their abilities by all kinds of misrepresentations. It not only foments and stimulates the hysteria which finds vent in the exaggerated suggestions of outrageous propensities, in those outbursts of the lust of blood and tor-

ture; it sets up a social terrorism and obscurantism within the white class which is spreading as such mob hallucinations tend to spread, into a formula of national patriotism. Just as in this country a few years ago any Englishman or woman who kept a clear head on South African matters was liable to be pelted as a pro-Boer and at best was a legitimate butt for public insult, so in America any person within the colour-belt who ventures to attribute human equality to a coloured citizen is promptly dubbed a "negrophilist" (as it were one enamoured of the black man as such), and his arguments are put out of consideration as those of a social outcast and traitor. The pressure of the terrorism so exercised by the bullies and cowards who form, in seasons of panic, the articulate majority of every social community, is so great that sane men in America keep silence, or, at best, half-silence, in the face of an increasing negrophobia, which is becoming a very threatening national danger.

I judge that negrophobia—race prejudice—instinctive race prejudice if you will—is, in the United States, the most active source of danger, because I see that, so far as a more wholesome and hopeful equilibrium has been attained in other mixed communities, it has been brought into being by the steadfast exclusion of all theory of race discrimination. Race discrimination—not distinction of

human capacity. The civilisation and morality of the Jamaica negro are not high, but he is on a markedly different level from his grandfather, the plantation slave, and his great grandfather, the African savage. The negro in Jamaica has been so far raised, so much freedom of civic mixture between the races has been made tolerable, by the continuous application to the race of the theory of humanity and equality: equality, that is, in the essential sense of endowment in the Infinite, a share, however obscure and undeveloped, in the inheritance of what we call the Soul. Evangelical Christianity, most democratic of doctrines, and educational effort, inspired and sustained by a personal conviction and recognition that, whatever the superficial distinctions, there was fundamental community and an equal claim in the Black with the White to share, according to personal capacity and development, in all the inheritance of humanity—these chiefly have created the conditions that have done what has been done for the negro in the lands of his exile. Emancipation, Education, identical justice, perfect equality in the Law Courts and under the Constitution, whatever the law of the constitution might be, these take away the sting of race difference, and if there is race inferiority, it is not burdened with an artificial handicap. Negroes are now indisputably the equals of the white men in

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categories in which one hundred years ago their masters would have confidently argued that they were naturally incapable of attaining equality. All such positive and materialised progress has been made by ignoring the obvious; by refusing to accept as conclusive the differences and the disabilities; by believing in the identities, the flashes of response and promise; by willing that there should be light where there seemed to be no light; by the methods of the visionary whose kingdom is not of this world, but who is insensately bent on assimilating this world to that kingdom; —in part even by less than this, by the mere resolute maintenance in the State of principles of common justice. The vast transplantation of slavery, the intercourse of white and black, have, in fact, brought advance in humanity to the coloured people. This has been done, and done only, and further advance towards health in a mixed community can only be looked for by adherence to the attitude, nay, indeed, by the personal recognition and consciousness of equality. Whatever mob prejudices may dictate, statesmen and educated observers at least cannot fail to recognise this, and must recognise that to set up the opposite principle, the allegation of inequality, of insuperable race differences and degradation, and to take this as a guide for internal policy, is a sin against light that is certain to aggravate the disorders of any mixed community as it is to

day demoralising the Southern States of the Union.

The colour line is not a rational line, the logic neither of words nor facts will uphold it. If adopted it infallibly aggravates the virus of the colour problem. The more it is ignored, the more is that virus attenuated. It is quite possible to justify a political generalisation—not as a truth, but as a working formula—that where the majority of the population are negro peasants, it is advisable to restrict the franchise. It is not possible, either as a working political formula, or as an anthropological theorem, to justify a generalisation that there is any political or human function for which coloured persons are by their African blood disqualified. In various categories of human activity one may maintain that, as a rule, black and coloured folk are not up to the normal standard of white, and are difficult and disheartening to deal with. But in other categories they are more liberally endowed than the average white man, not only with sympathetic and valuable human qualities, but with talent and executive ability for their expression.

My study and comparison of conditions in the United States and in the West Indies has brought me to the conviction that no solution of the American colour difficulties will be found except by resolutely turning the back to the colour-line and race-differentiation

theory. American and Colonial politicians and public men are not Exeter Hall Abolitionists, nor Evangelical Christian missionaries. I do not prescribe the formulas and methods of any such sects as a remedy. But it cannot be ignored that it happened that the religious formulas of the men who laid the foundations for a peaceful development of the mixed community of Jamaica were democratic and humanitarian. No more than this is required in regard to temperamental attitude. Where the race-differentiation formula is held to it will doubtless in time bring about civil war. If statesmen and citizens face in the contrary direction I do not say they will immediately attain civil peace, but I am confident that they will be travelling the only road towards it.

VII.

AMERICAN CORROBORATIONS.

The substance of the preceding three chapters, in which I have compared racial relations in Jamaica with those prevailing in the United States was published, with some additional commentary, in an American Review in April, 1905. The statements made as to the superior results attained in the British Colony were such as American citizens might reasonably have been expected to receive with some scepticism. The facts are so important that I am glad to be able to substantiate my own impressions by quoting those of two well-known American writers who have, since my observations appeared, quite independently but very precisely endorsed them.

Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, writing from Jamaica (which this lady has visited several times) to the *New York American*, in January, 1906, speaks as follows :—

"The man or woman who visits Jamaica and does not acknowledge the ability of the coloured race to occupy positions of dignity and trust, and to acquire education and culture, is either blind or utterly pig-headed.

"Three coloured men acted on the jury in

Kingston this week. The policemen, the trolley and railway officials are coloured; so are the post office officials. Scores of men stamped with the indelible marks of the African occupy prominent places in large industrial concerns, and the most remarkable man teacher I ever met with is Mr.——of ——, Principal of the Schools, and a man of very dark, albeit of very handsome, features.

. . . . . .

"There is no question but the coloured man is more evenly developed and better treated, better understood on this island than anywhere in America.

. . . . . .

"Nowhere has the man with coloured blood in his veins a better opportunity to rise in the world than right here. Stay here—and prove to all "doubting Thomases" what the coloured race can do. It is miraculous to think what it has accomplished here in sixty-eight years, since slavery was abolished.

"What may it *not* achieve in the next half century?"

Professor Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, in an otherwise notable article on "Race Questions and Prejudices," published in the "International Journal of Ethics" for April, 1906, from which I am fain to quote again hereafter in support of the views of these questions which experience has impressed upon myself, has written at some length on the

topics which I have discussed in these chapters on "The Transplanted African." His testimony is so explicit and coming independently from such a source so significant and so weighty, that I think it necessary to quote the following somewhat lengthy extract with only trifling excisions.

"How can the white man and the negro, once forced, as they are in our South, to live side by side, best learn to live with a minimum of friction, with a maximum of co-operation? I have long learned from my Southern friends that this end can only be attained by a firm, and by a very constant and explicit insistence upon keeping the negro in his proper place, as a social inferior—who, then, as an inferior, should, of course, be treated humanely, but who must first be clearly and unmistakably taught where he belongs. I have observed that the pedagogical methods which my Southern friends of late years have found it their duty to use, to this end, are methods such as still keep awake a good deal of very lively and intense irritation, in the minds not only of the pupils but also of the teachers.

"*Must* such increase of race-hatred first come, in order that later, whenever the negro has fully learned his lesson, and aspires no more beyond his station, peace may later come? Well, concerning just this matter I lately learned what was to me, in my experience, a new lesson. I have had occasion three times,

in recent summers, to visit British West Indies, Jamaica and Trinidad, at a time when few tourists were there. Upon visiting Jamaica I first went round the coast of the island, visiting its various ports. I then went inland, and walked for miles over its admirable country roads. I discussed its condition with men of various occupations. I read some of its official literature. I then consulted with a new interest its history. I watched its negroes in various places, and talked with some of them, too. I have since collected such further information as I had time to collect regarding its life, as various authorities have discussed the topic, and this is the result:

"Jamaica has a population of surely not more than 14,000 or 15,000 whites, mostly English. Its black population considerably exceeds 600,000. Its mulatto population, of various shades, numbers, at the very least, some 40,000 or 50,000. Its plantation life, in the days before emancipation, was much sadder and severer, by common account, than ours in the South ever was. Both the period of emancipation and the immediately following period were of a very discouraging type. In the sixties of the last century there was one very unfortunate insurrection. The economic history of the island has also been in many ways unlucky even to the present day. Here, then, are certainly conditions which in some respects are decidedly such as would seem to tend

towards a lasting state of general irritation, such as would make, you might suppose, race-questions acute. Moreover, the population, being a tropical one, has serious moral burdens to contend with of the sort that result from the known influences of such climates upon human character in the men of all races.

"And yet, despite all these disadvantages, to-day, whatever the problems of Jamaica, whatever its defects, our own present Southern race-problem in the forms which we know best, simply does not exist. There is no public controversy about social race equality or superiority. Neither a white man nor a white woman feels insecure in moving about freely amongst the black population anywhere on the island.

"The negro is, on the whole, neither painfully obtrusive in his public manners, nor in need of being sharply kept in his place. Within the circles of the black population itself there is meanwhile a decidedly rich social differentiation. There are negroes in government service, negroes in the professions, negroes who are fairly prosperous peasant proprietors, and there are also the poor peasants; there are the thriftless, the poor in the towns,—yes, as in any tropical country, the beggars. In Kingston and in some other towns there is a small class of negroes who are distinctly criminal. On the whole, however, the negro and coloured population, taken in the mass, are

orderly, law-abiding, contented, still backward in their education, but apparently advancing. They are generally loyal to the government. The best of them are aspiring, in their own way, and wholesomely self-conscious. Yet there is no doubt whatever that English white men are the essential controllers of the destiny of the country. But these English whites, few as they are, control the country at present with extraordinary little friction, and wholly without those painful emotions, those insistent complaints and anxieties, which at present are so prominent in the minds of many of our own Southern brethren. Life in Jamaica is not ideal. The economical aspect of the island is in many ways unsatisfactory. But the negro race-question, in our present American sense of that term, seems to be substantially solved.

"I answer, by the simplest means in the world—the simplest, that is, for Englishmen —viz.: by English administration, and by English reticence. When once the sad period of emancipation and of subsequent occasional disorder was passed, the Englishman did in Jamaica what he had so often and so well done elsewhere. He organized his colony; he established good local courts, which gained by square treatment the confidence of the blacks. The judges of such courts were Englishmen. The English ruler also provided a good country constabulary, in which native

blacks also found service, and in which they could exercise authority over other blacks. Black men, in other words, were trained, under English management, of course, to police black men. A sound civil service was also organized ; and in that educated negroes found in due time their place, while the chief of each branch of the service were or are, in the main, Englishmen. The excise and the health services, both of which are very highly developed, have brought the law near to the life of the humblest negro, in ways which he sometimes finds, of course restraining, but which he also frequently finds beneficent Hence he is accustomed to the law ; he sees its ministers often, and often, too, as men of his own race ; and in the main, he is fond of order, and to be respectful towards the established ways of society. The Jamaica negro is described by those who know him as especially fond of bringing his petty quarrels and personal grievances into court. He is litigious just as he is vivacious. But this confidence in the law is just what the courts have encouraged. That is one way, in fact, to deal with the too forward and strident negro. Encourage him to air his grievances in court, listen to him patiently, and fine him when he deserve fines. That is a truly English type of social pedagogy. It works in the direction of making the negro a conscious helper toward good social order.

"Administration, I say, has done the larger half of the work of solving Jamaica's race-problem. Administration has filled the island with good roads, has reduced to a minimum the tropical diseases by means of an excellent health-service, has taught the population loyalty and order, has led them some steps already on the long road "up from slavery," has given them, in many cases, the true self-respect of those who themselves officially co-operate in the work of the law, and it has done this without any such result as our Southern friends nowadays conceive when they think of what is called "negro domination." Administration has allayed ancient irritations. It has gone far to offset the serious economic and tropical troubles from which Jamaica meanwhile suffers.

"Yes, the work has been done by administration,—and by reticence. You well know that in dealing, as an individual, with other individuals, trouble is seldom made by the fact that you are actually the superior of another man in any respect. The trouble comes when you tell the other man too stridently that you are his superior. Be my superior quietly, simply showing your superiority in your deeds, and very likely I shall love you for the very fact of your superiority. For we all love our leaders. But tell me that I am your inferior, and then perhaps I may grow boyish, and may throw stones. Well, it is so with

races. Grant then that yours is the superior race. Then you can afford to say little about that subject in your public dealings with the backward race. Superiority is best shown by good deeds and by few boasts.

"So much for the lesson that Jamaica has suggested to me. The widely different conditions of Trinidad suggest, despite the differences, a somewhat similar lesson. Here also there are great defects in the social order; but again, our Southern race problem does not exist. When, with such lessons in mind, I recall our problem, as I hear it from my brethren of certain regions of our Union, I see how easily we can all mistake for a permanent race-problem a difficulty that is essentially a problem of quite another sort. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, in his recent book on the "Southerners' Problem," speaks in one notable passage of the possibility, which he calls Utopian, that perhaps some day the negro in the South may be made to co-operate in the keeping of order by the organization under State control of a police of their own race, who shall deal with blacks. He even mentions that the English in the East Indies use native constabulary. But this possibility is not Utopian. When now I hear the complaint of the Southerner, that the race-problem is such as constantly to endanger the safety of his home, I now feel disposed to say: "The problem that endangers the sanctity of your

homes and that is said sometimes to make lynching a necessity, is not a race-problem. It is an administrative problem. You have never organized a country constabulary. Hence when various social conditions, amongst which the habit of irritating public speech about race-questions is indeed one, though only one condition, have tended to the producing, and to the arousing of extremely dangerous criminals in your communities, you have no adequate means of guarding against the danger. When you complain that such criminals, when they flee from justice, get sympathy from some portion of their ignorant fellows and so are aided to get away, you forget that you have not first made your negro countrymen familiar with and fond of the law, by means of a vigorous and well-organized and generally beneficent administration constantly before his eyes, not only in the pursuit of criminals, but in the whole care of public order and health. If you insist that in some districts the white population is too sparse or too poor, or both, to furnish an efficient country constabulary constantly on duty, why, then, have you not long since trained black men to police black men? Sympathy with the law grows with responsibility for its administration. If it is revolting to you to see black men possessed of the authority of a country constabulary, still, if you will, you can limit their authority to a control over

their own race. If you say all this speech of mine is professorial, unpractical, Utopian, and if you still cry out bitterly for the effective protection of your womankind, I reply merely, look at Jamaica. Look at other English colonies.

"In any case, the Southern race problem will never be relieved by speech or by practices such as increase irritation. It will be relieved when administration grows sufficiently effective, and when the negroes themselves get an increasingly responsible part in this administration in so far as it relates to their own race. That may seem a wild scheme. But I insist: It is the English way. Look at Jamaica, and learn how to protect your own homes."

VIII.

THE IDLENESS OF THE AFRICAN.

He is the dog, She is the cat, and They, at afternoon tea discussions in England, are the servants. In our tropical dependencies They are the "niggers." And much the same mental attitude towards these two Theys is recognisable. So it must be whenever any class of human beings is criticised by the standard of servile virtues. The virtue of the slave is to be industrious for the profit of his master. If such industry is not manifested, then he is idle. The African knows better than any other race what slavery is. It has been a universal institution of his native communities, and his closest and longest apprenticeship to civilisation was slavery under white kidnappers. To the African who, in his own person, or those of his fathers, has passed through that apprenticeship, the fact most alive in his consciousness in relation to white men is that he is not a slave. Remember, not only was it the white men who have made his slavery bitterest, it was they also who, for a century, were his emancipators; it was they who promised him that slavery should be done away. Mere contact with the

white man in the countries where he has been his slave continually reminds him of this. He guards himself, therefore, against all that he thinks savours of slavery with a constant jealousy; he resents the unwarrantable claims which the unlicked cubs of a class-civilisation habitually make on the members of a subordinate class, and perhaps it may be said that he gives the white man credit, often, for not expecting things of him which the latter may be prone to think he has a right to expect of the darkie, but which he would certainly not expect of men of his own race or class. The African, as I have said above, is very quick in his appreciation of such an attitude, and has very little consideration for its sensibilities.

But, it will be said, no one demands of him servile virtues; we only demand of him the industrial virtues of the free Englishman. Well, then, let us put aside all suggestion that servile virtues are demanded of the African by the European adventurer, merchant planter, or Government officer; let us eliminate, too, any disturbing suspicion that we may ever demand servile virtues of the free wage-worker at home. What is the standard of industrial virtue in that wage-worker with which the behaviour of the African compares so distressingly? To put it most simply: first, it is the habit of the European workman (we may leave out of

consideration all other classes) of working six days (at least) out of every seven, and working for practically the whole of each such day. And, secondly, it is the habit of the European workman of working with a certain sense of obligation to give fair work for his wage. I do not say this latter habit is so generally conspicuous as the other. Indeed, the same persons who most loudly accuse the African of idleness in his own countries, most loudly inveigh at home against the shirking of the British workman. But in the Tropics they compare his industrial conscientiousness most favourably with that of the black, so that we may take it that this form of industrial virtue is to be acknowledged as imputable to him.

It may perhaps be the fact that the conditions of industrial civilisation, persisting through generations, have established a certain conscientiousness of workmanship as an instinctive habit, even where the worker has no personal or sympathetic interest in the output. If not innate and instinctive it is early developed by the induction of the continuous habit of mechanical toil which dominates the life of the civilised proletariat. This conscience, however acquired by the workman, is by no means entirely the fear of losing his job. I need not expatiate here on the horrors reflected in this industrial instinct. I have only to point out that the criticism

which condemns the African by this standard habitually assumes that the continuous toil of the European wage-earner is an excellent and beneficent thing, and that the hideous perversion of human impulse that can make a man enjoy his work irrespectively of any beauty or significance in it is an admirable product of evolution. The African is condemned because he is deficient in these two habits. It is a fact that he does not recognise them as virtues. Let that be admitted and well understood, and the reasons why he does not, and we shall be on the way to understand much better than do some of his censors what manner of admissible virtues he has from the point of view of the requirements of the society he has to live in.

In the first place, the European workman works six days a week, and if his conditions are fortunate, nine hours a day (the average, more) not primarily from virtue, but from necessity. If he could support himself and his family on a little less toil, I don't think even the most hide-bound of industrial moralists would condemn him for doing so. The European works excessively because, under the present organisation of production and of the distribution of products, he must do so or starve. If he cannot keep up the pace of the speeded machine, he drops out altogether. The African, working primarily for precisely the same motives of necessity, and not from

industrial virtue, works very much less because so much less toil will give him what he wants. Moreover his industry is desultory, he seems to have no feeling of the excellence and efficiency of continuity, of the claims of a job over the attractions of any passing whim. We must remember that a great part of the white man's work-time is occupied in providing for the needs of other people who do not work—through the tolls of rent, interest, and profits. This part is mere slavery, and the sphere of those servile virtues alone with which, as agreed, we have not to deal. His industrial merit can hardly be said to extend beyond the work that he does for his own support and profit, for surely that is all that he does of his own free will. The rest is by compulsion of the industrial machine. If the work he does for himself is more than the African's it is simply because the white man's needs are more, and this may be a fair standard for criticism. It may be held that the wider needs of the European do entitle him to be considered a superior man. But if the test of virtue is willingness to work for the satisfaction of needs, then I cannot myself impute greater virtues to the European, for it is undeniable that when he feels the motive sufficient the African is a magnificent worker.

The total output of social utility produced by the civilised worker is very much greater on the average than that of the African, but

the latter is not trained nor disposed to the production of surplus-value, he does not care to produce, and his circumstances do not compel him to produce much more than is required for his own maintenance; and if this is little, and cannot, in his condition of industrial anarchy, be very greatly increased, so that what he retains for himself is less than what the workman gets, yet it is arguable that he gets much more enjoyment of life and satisfaction out of that little than the civilised wage earner can get out of his more elaborate pittance. And all the excess over this of the latter's output is merely servile labour.

The reason why the African, whether at home or in the West Indies, does not have to work very hard to satisfy his needs, is that those needs are few and simple, the soil and climate generous in the production of food, and land not monopolised. Where land is monopolised he has to work harder, and in some cases even to work as regularly as the European. Moreover there is a tendency, I think, to exaggerate the spontaneous fertility of tropical lands. Enthusiastic visitors to the West Indies are constantly amazed at the inefficiency which fails to produce universal opulence in a country where "anything will grow." Such visitors sometimes take up estates, in order to show the indolent creole what British energy can make of his neglected inheritance. They presently discover that

anything, indeed, will grow, provided the rains do not fail; and especially "bush" and weeds, which they have to clean out continually if they are to get any crops, also caterpillars, and scale insects, and cotton worms, and other competing forms of life in great abundance. In short, that the immediate and intelligent application of labour is constantly necessary; and even for a black man, under a tropical sun, hard labour is not always inviting.

But we have to consider the further fault alleged against the African that when working for wages he has no industrial probity. Just as—because need and the industrial servitude of civilised proletariats have never drilled him into their mechanical habits of labour—he has no instinct of working continuously or automatically, so he has had nothing to produce in him the industrial conscience that calls on the worker to give "fair" work for "fair" pay. With him, through all the history of his race, work for a master has been work under the necessity of slavery, his free activity has been either co-operative, family, or communal work, or work on his own little farm-patch; or, where any question of interchange came in, the activity of trade and barter. The African is a born trader. The character of the Kaffir bargain is proverbial. The virtue of the Trader is to get much for little: his motto is "*Caveat Emptor.*" Wage

bargaining and the fulfilment of wage contracts was a new thing to the emancipated slave ; the joy of getting the best of a bargain was ingrained and ineradicable. That is the morality which he applies to a wage-bargain. He has small sense of obligation in regard to it. And here we come across one of the reasons for that frequent assertion that the African was a better industrial citizen under slavery than as a wage-worker. It is not entirely the chagrined complaint of the disappointed exploiter. The African was accustomed to the status and obligations of slavery, and whilst it is true that the status and obligations of plantation slavery were much crueller and less tempered by human and domestic relations than the slavery of his native societies, yet even on the plantation he was confronted with the white man in categories with which he was familiar ; the category of force, which he recognised and respected, and the category of affection, particularly family affection, so that the slave regarded himself as a member of his owner's family, and truly was so in essential relations far more than any wage-employee in modern European society comes near to being. Therefore, he worked well: not only from fear of the force, but for the same reason as his fathers worked—whether as slaves or free men in their native families—that is, from social or conventional, not from pecuniary obligation. When he was removed

from the sanction of force by emancipation, and from that of affection and habit by the substitution of wage labour, he naturally became from the point of view of the employer who judged him solely as an investment of wages, a very idle and conscienceless person. As I have pointed out, in discussing race-antagonisms, the employer, especially the new-comer, the Scottish overseer, who, as attorney, superseded "Old Massa" in the management of so many West Indian estates, judged him only by those parts of his character affecting the matters in which they had common contact, and troubled himself not at all to do justice to the rest. And yet it is a commonplace in the West Indies, and in all countries where the idleness and untrustworthiness of the African are complained of, that under personal influence he is a capital worker. Some estates will have constant labour difficulties, others hardly any, the whole difference being due to the temperament and intelligence of the employer and his overseers.

Even under these best of conditions, however, in colonies where the negro is under no compulsion of need to work regularly, labour difficulties will arise. For the free West Indian negro is not only averse as a matter of dignity to conducting himself as if he were a plantation slave, and bound to work every day, but also enjoys the fun of feeling himself a master. And so, on a big sugar estate, when

expensive machinery is running, and the crop has to be worked without stoppage, or on a banana plantation, when the steamer has been telephoned at daybreak, and two or three thousand bunches have to be at the wharf by noon, the negro hands will very likely find it impossible to cut canes or fruit that morning. It isn't a strike for better conditions of labour: they may have no grievance; another day they will turn up all right: but a big concern cannot be run on that basis. That is the root of the demand for indentured labour in the West Indies. It is dearer than Creole labour, but it is at hand, and can be set to work when required. The indentured Indians do not compete with the negro to his exclusion, they literally maintain the opportunity for his employment. In Jamaica wages are highest in those districts where indentured coolies are employed on banana plantations. This does not mean that coolies are employed because higher wages would otherwise have to be paid to Creole labourers. It means that a valuable productive industry can be maintained by the organised and manageable coolie labour, which, so established, can employ and pay good wages to the casual Creole labourer, but which, if it had only that casual and independent labour to rely on, could not be established and carried on at all. And the same is the case with regard to the large Demerara and Trinidad sugar estates

that employ indentured labour. The African, where his inclination is involved, is finely irresponsive to merely economic considerations. It is no use raising his wages to induce him to work four days in the week on an estate instead of three. The probable effect will be to make him work two, seeing that two days of the higher rate will give him all the cash he proposes to hire for. The rest of his time he finds more valuable to himself in other employment.

The idleness of the African resolves itself, as I have observed him in the West Indies, into this: he has no mechanical habit of industry. He has no idea of any obligation to be industrious for industry's sake, no conception of any essential dignity in labour itself, no delight in gratuitous toil. Moreover, he has never been imbued with the vulgar and fallacious illusion which is so ingrained in competitive industrial societies, that service can be valued in money. The worker in such countries constantly claims that his work is "worth" so much. We know that its "worth" is simply what the worker is strong enough in competition to get for it, and that much of the poorest paid work is in truth the most valuable. But work and money are not yet rigidly commensurable in the consciousness of the African. Half a dollar may be worth one day's work to him, a second half-dollar may be worth a second day's work, but

a third half-dollar will not be worth a third day's work. A third day's work may seem to him worth two dollars. It is this incommensurability of work with money in his mind (a most valuable and hopeful characteristic) that partly accounts for his apparent lack of conscience towards his employer. Moreover he lives in climates where toil is exhausting, and rest both easy and sweet. There are few days in the year in England when it is really pleasant to loaf, and the streets of civilised cities are not tempting to recumbent meditation.

These are his deficiencies, judged from the point of view of the European who wants to make use of his labour. From a different point of view, the viciousness of his habits is not so conspicuous. The African is for the most part an unskilled labourer, but he is strong, and when he is pleased to work he is highly efficient within the limits of his skill. He works best in gangs under social impulse, he works with extreme industry on his own small holding, up to the limit of his limited wants. There are no bounds to the trouble he will take in service in which his goodwill or affection is engaged. The capitalist system of industry has not disciplined him into a wage-slave, and I doubt if it ever will. I think it quite probable that that system, in its attempt to incorporate the African in its wage proletariat, may, after all, break down. The

European wage proletariat and its standards of industrial virtue were only created by long evolution arising out of private landlordism and the pressure of climate and poverty. So long as the African has access to the land, and is saved from poverty by the simplicity of his needs and the ease of meeting them, so long the capitalist employer is sure to find his labour unmanageable under the "free" wage system. From this fact has arisen the demand for indentured labour, established now for long in the West Indies, and already found essential in South Africa and elsewhere on that continent as a sine quâ non of the exploitation of largely capitalised enterprises.

IX.

BLACK LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

What I have written so far has related especially to the Negro division of the African populations, studied as labourers in the West Indies and the New World, whither they have been transplanted by the white man to work for his profit. South Africa is peopled predominantly by the Bantu race, different in many characteristics from the Negro, and in some respects, especially in military qualities, more advanced. Moreover, whilst many of the West African negroid peoples have an intermixture of Aryan or Semitic blood, this is the case with almost the whole of the Basuto people: a fact to be borne in mind when theories of insuperable race distinctions are being propounded. Notwithstanding the differences of conditions between South Africa and the New World, and of racial characteristics between the Bantu and the negro, what has been said with regard to the latter in industry is substantially true also of the former. For an intelligent and sympathetic, though not completely perspicuous study of the South African Kaffir (we need not occupy ourselves with the Hottentots and the almost extinc

Bushman) I would refer to Mr. D. Kidd's book, "The Essential Kaffir." The report of the recent South African Native Affairs Commission, presented to Parliament in April, 1905, is the most important and instructive official document recently published on the subject.

The industrial temperament and habits which are imputed to the black man as racial are everywhere the reflex of the conditions of terrestrial, climatic and social environment in which the black man has lived and thriven, and when the race is transplanted they are perceptibly modified, in detail, whilst naturally, in tropical countries, remaining for the most part the same in general character. The factors of the inter-racial industrial situation in South Africa are complicated by the imperfect stability of the political settlement of the country, as exemplified in the recent native troubles in Natal. I desire to confine my observations as closely as possible to the industrial aspect, which, however, it is impossible to regard as entirely independent of the political.

We hear, therefore, much the same complaints from employers in South Africa as in the West Indies of the idleness of the black man, and they rest upon precisely the same foundation. The soil and climate of South Africa are not indeed so directly fertile as those of the West Indies, and the South African tribes have had not only to exercise greater industry and in-

vention in their bodily maintenance than the West Indian peasant, but have also had until recently to maintain the activities of tribal warfare. The Kaffirs, besides being agriculturists in a certain degree, are also nations of herdsmen, and understand the management of cattle, which the West Indian negro, and, for the most part, the West African tribes he sprang from, do not. It may probably be concluded that the native populations of South Africa are, by the common necessities of their tribal life, more industrious as a rule than the negroes of the forest regions and coast of Africa or the transplanted African.

The Commissioners to whose report on South African Native Affairs I have referred, summarise as follows their conclusions on this side of the matter :—

§ 372.—" *The Natives have had access to the land on terms which have enabled them to regard work for wages as a mere supplement to their means, and not as it is regarded in the older communities, namely, as the urgent condition under which the majority of mankind earn their bread.*

§ 373.—"The theory that the South African Natives are hopelessly indolent may be dismissed as not being in accordance with the facts. Even the simple wants of the Native population cannot be supplied without some degree of exertion. The population of 4,652,662 has to derive its sustenance from a soil which is not everywhere fertile, and the native agriculturist has to contend with the same drawbacks of drought and pestilence that beset the European farmer. The labour of tilling the soil, weeding and reaping, is shared, but is by no means exclusively performed, by

he Native women; and the representation of the Native living at his own village a lazy, luxurious life, supported by his wife or wives, is misleading.

§ 374.—"The main reasons for the existence of labour difficulties may be summarised as follows:—

The Native population have always been pastoral and agricultural.

The rapid increase of South African labour requirements, particularly during the last quarter of a century, has found them to a great extent unprepared to meet the new conditions which surround them.

The normal condition of Native life is that of a small cultivator and herdsman, and the circumstances of their history have never developed among them a class accustomed to and dependent upon continuous daily labour.

The inexpensiveness of their living, the limited nature of their wants, and the comparative absence of incentive to labour.

The terms on which they occupy the land.

§ 376.—"Except in the case of farm labour and the like, which is specially suited to the Native, it must not be forgotten that what is known as paid labour generally, means to the Native, as a rule, absence from home and family, and in some employments irksome and often hard and dangerous work, and the abandonment of the ease, comforts, and pleasures of Native village life. As further discouragements there have been breaches of agreements by contractors, misrepresentations by labour agents and touts, and occasional harsh treatment, which have tended to shake the confidence of the Native. The rate of wages, nominally high, has to be considered in relation to the purchasing power of money at present South African prices, and it must be remembered that the Native has, as a rule, to pay top prices for his purchases."

The conviction that the supply of "labour"

in South Africa is desperately deficient is one with which we are in these days very familiar. Let me survey the conclusions of this Commission upon that subject. They estimate that in British South Africa, including the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, with Swaziland, the Orange River Colony, and Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, there are about 900,000 able-bodied possible workers, of whom, they say, from 450,000 to 475,000 may be held to be always at work, or available for work. The units of this total oscillate between their homes and outside labour, but the approximate total is constant. The Commissioners here drop into the familiar habit which I have noted above as characteristic of those social philosophers who speak from the employing class, and which is somewhat confusing to the unwary reader, of using the word "work" or "labour" as signifying only paid work at wages for an employer. They must not, however, be understood as meaning that half the adult native male population of South Africa are continuously idle, what they mean is that only about half that population is available to be detached from its own avocations to work for white employers. This seems a fairly high proportion, and if the computation is accurate it tends to show that the South African native is ready to work for wages a great many more days in the year than the

West Indian negro. Moreover, he will do what the West Indian (remembering slavery, can never be induced to do—he will enter into a contract for labour under legal penalties for longer or shorter spells. But such spells will be intermittent from causes similar to those that make fitful the West Indian labour supply. The average period for which a man will consent to remain away from his home working at wages is from three to six months in mines and other industries, and somewhat longer in agricultural labour. The times at which he will be available for such labour will depend upon the requirements of his home life, and upon the counter-attractions which may be acting upon him at any particular season. After the South African war he was flush of money, and, like the West Indian negro in such circumstances, did not consider it worth his while to work at all at ordinary wages. This fitfulness of the native labour supply has operated as one of the strongest incentives in South Africa, as it has done in the West Indies to a demand for imported indentured labour, not accessible to these local distractions, as essential for the continuous exploitation of undertakings conducted with expensive installations of machinery where work has to be begun at the word of command and carried on steadily throughout the whole year. It is expected that the higher cost of such immigrant labour

—and it seems to be more costly in South Africa, as it certainly is in the West Indies, judged by the standard daily wage expenditure —will be more than compensated by the avoidance of waste in interest and depreciation of capital.

The supply of available wage labourers being, as estimated, about 475,000, the Commissioners (writing in January 1905) estimated the demand for labourers in British South Africa as about 782,000, showing a shortage of more than 300,000. The bulk of this shortage was said to be in the Transvaal, where the demand was stated at 374,000, the supply as 90,695—a deficiency of more than 280,000. In Natal, an agricultural colony, where the white population are fewer in proportion to the natives than in the Transvaal, the supply was shown as exceeding the demand by about 26,500.

Consideration of what constitutes the alleged disparity between the demand and supply of labour in South Africa, yields a very significant conclusion which must affect our whole judgment of the problems involved. The demand for labour in this case is not a need of the community as an organic, self-contained human society. It is not a scarcity of power for the maintenance of the local life and of an adequate degree of local civilisation. It is for the most part simply a demand on the part of foreign capital for labour force with

which to extract wealth from the mineral resources of the soil for the profit of foreign recipients. Allowing that the production of gold may be a source of social wealth and well-being to a country endowed with gold-mines, it is the fact that the measure of the riches locally distributed by this industry in South Africa is only the amount of the wages and salaries of the labour that it brings into employment on the spot. The value of the machinery employed, and practically the whole of the surplus value of the product after payment of these salaries and wages is absorbed in Europe. If the local community owned the mines a very much smaller employment of labour force on the richer mines would produce, for that local community as a whole, the same amount of wealth for local consumption. The excessive demand for labour, which causes a deficiency to be felt in the supply, is due to the call for the production of the vast amount of value which is exported and consumed out of the country. It is essentially and characteristically an exploiting and capitalist demand. It is quite true that the situation resulting from this demand creates a certain scarcity of labour for the common needs of the country in the production of food in agriculture for the services of trade, and in the ordinary social and domestic employments; but apart from the strictly external demand for the means of producing

dividends, the supply for these local purposes would be superabundant. The demand is altogether in its general character a demand that the native shall work for a foreign employer, even at the cost of diminishing his work for his own native society. It is, in fact, directly antagonistic to the vitality of his own social institutions. And in the opinion, recently expressed, of Sir Godfrey Lagden, than whom few more experienced or sympathetic authorities could be named, the competition for his services and the higher wages offered are breeding in him an attitude towards the white man very dangerous to the South African equilibrium.

That might possibly be considered to be so much the better from the natives' point of view, but it is a matter for the white man to take account of if he wishes to maintain his position in the country.

Notice, further, that the extent of this demand, and the corresponding deficiency of labour supply are only limited by the limitations of the resources of the country conceivably available for exploitation by white capital. We are told that there is a deficiency of labour supply in the Transvaal amounting to 284,000. That estimate is arrived at by calculating how many men the mines of the Witwatersrand and the mineral industries of the Colony could employ if they were developed into full working on the basis of

their present capitalisation. Part of this deficiency has been supplied by indentured Chinese labour, but there is still, on this theory of demand, a very large gap to be filled either by that expedient or by some other. Now, if prospectors were to discover a fresh gold-field of equal extent with the Rand, or any other great source of what the white investor has been led to consider desirable wealth, the "demand" for labour in the Transvaal would be doubled, the "deficiency" would be more than doubled; and the distressful plight of that labour-starved community would be proportionately aggravated. On the other hand, if the owners of South African mines had deemed it advisable only to exploit for the present, say, one third of their properties, the available labour supply would about suffice, and this agonising labour problem would not exist.

The depressson and *malaise* of which we hear so much as afflicting Johannesburg, is wholly an imported suffering. A great proportion of it is not felt there at all: it is felt by investors in England, disappointed of returns to their investments, who localise and impute their own distress to the scene whence it originates. Where their treasure is there is their heart also. And so far as there is local distress, it is chiefly the distress of immigrant Europeans who have gone thither to assist in the process of exploitation.

It is clear, then, that the labour problem in South Africa is one created only by the particular demand of the white employers, or would be employers, and white immigrants seeking and disappointed of fortune, and it is notable that the effect of the situation upon the temper of the white towards the native and upon his views of social expediency in regard to the administrative control of the latter, is precisely the same in South Africa as it is in the West Indies. In the first place, it seems to create a certain irritation and censoriousness of spirit on the part of the white towards the black. He complains that the black is idle, and it calls for a grave pronouncement by a Commission such as that I have quoted to set forth the plain commonsense of the matter. The censure by the white of the black man's idleness is even more preposterous in South Africa than it is in the West Indies, because in South Africa there is a greater tendency to assert the colour line, and to determine that manual labour is to be for the black and the black for manual labour, whilst the white is to be his captain and director. All the heavy manual work that has been done, has been done by native labour; the agriculture, the mining, the road and railway making. It is the white man that wants to get this work done for him. "We may conclude," writes Mr. D. Kidd, in the excellent, but by no means over-favourable

study he gives of this question in the book I have mentioned above, "that while the Kaffir differs from Europeans in his ideas as to what constitutes profitable labour, and is much better off in relative riches compared with Europeans, who cannot rest content with what the Kaffir considers ample comfort, he is not utterly lazy. The moment there is what *he* considers an adequate inducement to work, he rouses himself and begins!" In my experience when a white man denounces the laziness of the black, in nine cases out of ten it is a man who has desired to employ him, and has found him evasive, or even a tourist or visitor who has taken his impressions from such hosts.

Following this censoriousness and anxiety for the moralisation of the native, we discern arising in South Africa, as in the United States, the theory that the native must be educated and civilised by teaching him to labour and to want. Great numbers of those who have ceased to abuse the native for idleness quite sincerely and good-heartedly hold this theory. It is a theory that coincides most providentially with the purposes for which the white man is there, viz., to get things dug up which the native does not want to dig for. Hence such convictions as that a higher taxation of the native is necessary and that such taxation can best be imposed by means of a poll-tax, or hut-tax, with additional

taxation for every wife the native keeps in excess of the first; and with the curious and significant exemption that farm servants in bona-fide and continuous employment should be free from the tax. It is impossible to dissociate recommendations of this character from the pressure of the artificial demand of the white man that the native shall come and work for wages for his profit.

The inclination to favour the policy of forcing the native to work, by direct taxation, or restricting the area of land which he may occupy, either as member of a tribe, on a location, or as an individual, in fee simple, is much more widely diffused than expressed. It is easy to discern its influence even in parts of the Report of the Natives' Affairs' Commission, although the majority of the Commissioners were clearly opposed to it. Some of the paragraphs in which their conclusions are summed up appear to me to be worth quoting here:—

§ 191.—"There is a manifest effort on the part of Natives to-day being made to possess land which is not counteracted by any reluctance on the part of European holders to dispose of it so long as the sellers are not themselves bound to live in proximity.

§ 192.—"If this process goes on, while at the same time restrictions exclude Europeans from purchasing within Native areas, it is inevitable that at no very distant date the amount of land in Native occupation will be undesirably extended. Native wages and earnings are greater than they used to be, their wants are few, and their necessary expenses small

They will buy land at prices above its otherwise market value, as their habits and standard of living enable them to exist on land that it is impossible for Europeans to farm on a small scale. There will be many administrative and social difficulties created by the multiplication of a number of Native units scattered throughout a white population and owning the land of the country equally with them. *Such a situation cannot fail to accentuate feelings of race prejudice and animosity, with unhappy results. It will be far more difficult to preserve the absolutely necessary political and social distinctions if the growth of a mixed rural population of land-owners is not discouraged.**

§ 193.—"The Commission has arrived almost unanimously at the conclusion that it is necessary to safeguard what is conceived to be the interests of the Europeans of this country, but that in doing so the door should not be entirely closed to deserving and progressive individuals among the Natives acquiring land, and has resolved as follows :—

That certain restrictions upon the purchase of land by Natives are necessary, and recommends

(1) That purchase by Natives should in future be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment.

(2) That purchase of land which may lead to tribal, communal or collective possession or occupation by Natives should not be permitted.

§ 198.—" Col. Stanford dissented from the view of the majority on the question of restricting to certain areas only the right of the individual Native to pur-

* The italics are mine. Note the pessimistic fatalism of tone ; in opposition to which I would appeal to what I have written on the situation in the West Indies, and to what I have quoted in Chapter vii. from Professor Royce and Mrs. Wheeler Wilcox. The Commissioners, however, deal with existing facts, and may be excused for taking short views.

chase land. He holds that the acquisition by the more advanced Natives of vested individual interests in the land is a powerful incentive to loyalty, and that *only in the event of its leading to the extension of the tribal system* beyond the reserves or locations would the right of Native purchase be contrary to the best interests of both races. In his opinion sufficient cause has not been shewn for the curtailment of privileges enjoyed for many years in the British Colonies. No depopulation of any area or district in respect of European occupiers has been proved; and he foresees that in the course of time, as the Natives in their locations advance in civilisation and receive full rights to individual holdings, the barriers now quite rightly placed in the way of their selling such holdings will be removed, and transactions in land proceed as freely in the reserves as is now the case elsewhere. Urban areas may be protected against undesirable Native occupation, as is done against the undesirable occupation of Europeans, by regulations.

The contention that the safety of the European races must be guarded by such restrictions as have been under discussion he does not hold to be sound. The Church, professions, commerce, trade, and labour are open to the ambition and energy of the Natives, and with so many avenues open to their advance the danger of their swamping the Europeans, if a real one, is not avoided by denying them the right individually to buy land.

He can see no decadence of the vigour, the enterprise and the courage which, since the occupation of the Cape Peninsula by the early Dutch settlers have resulted in the extension of European control and occupation to the limits now reached. Moreover, artificial restriction of the purchase of land, when attempted in the late Dutch Republics, resulted in the evasion of the law by various forms of contract whereby Native occupation of farms was effcete

while at the same time advantage was taken of the opportunities thus afforded of fraudulent practices on the part of Europeans employed as agents or so-called trustees.

The proposed areas are not recommended for demarcation in existing reserves or locations. Therefore, in the older British Colonies and in the Orange River Colony, if demarcated at all, they must affect present European occupation. If, on the other hand, the design be to allow purchase by Natives in localities regarded as unsuitable for Europeans, sight is lost of the fact that usually the Native who desires to become a landed proprietor belongs to the civilized class and such localities offer to him no attraction.

Europeans are more and more entering upon occupation of land regarded as set aside for Natives. Missionaries, traders and others are permitted to establish themselves and carry on the duties or work of their respective callings. Townships spring up at the various seats of Magistracy, and Census returns clearly show that the influx is steadily increasing in volume. It is thus demonstrated that the idea of separate occupation of land by Natives, even in their own reserves, is not maintained at the present time, nor can it be in the future.

The Commission has no reliable data to go upon in making any comparison of the relative strength of these two streams: Europeans into Native reserves as owners of land or occupiers under Government sanction leading up to title, and *vice versa*, Natives out of their reserves into surveyed parts as owners. From his own observation, so far as it goes, Col. Stanford's opinion is that the former is the greater.

§ 199.—"The representatives of the Colony of Natal dissent from the recommendation that the purchase of land by Natives should in future be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment and they give the following reasons:—

(1) That Natives in the Cape Colony, Natal and

Rhodesia can, like all other persons, purchase and hold land in their own right at the present time, excepting in cases where Government or any other owner of land for special reasons may place a contrary condition on public or other lands when put up for sale.

(2) That the resolution limits and restricts the sale of land by Europeans and races other than Natives.

(3) That the resolution is in conflict with the spirit of other recommendations of the Commission, which have for their object the encouragement of individual tenure.

(4) That Asiatics and other coloured races not of African descent may purchase land anywhere, whereas by this resolution the Natives, who are the aborigines of the country, will be excluded from this privilege except in limited areas selected, probably, for their unhealthiness and unsuitability for irrigation and cultivation and other kindred reasons.

(5) That the resolution affects and limits the right of free trade possessed by every other subject of the British Empire, a right which is enjoyed by the Natives of South Africa in every other sphere of business.

(6) That the resolution recommends a demarcation based practically on racial or colour lines unaccompanied by any other considerations such as the attainment by Natives of material and social progress, evolution and advancement from Native law, customs and usages, and polygamy, and the introduction of better modes of living and cultivation stimulated by the sense of security and proprietorship.

They are of opinion that the determining factors in the ownership of land by Natives should be :—

(*a*) The degree of civilisation attained.

(*b*) Devolution and inheritance under the ordinary

Colonial law applicable to Europeans, and not under Native law.

(*c*) The abandonment of polygamy.

Subject to this standard being attained, they are in favour of unrestricted right and opportunity of purchase of land by Natives.

207.—"The Commission is of opinion and recommends:—

(1) That the time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, or to be dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves, or otherwise, should be defined, delimited and reserved for the Natives by legislative enactment.

(2) That this should be done with a view to finality in the provision of land for the Native population and that thereafter no more land should be reserved for Native occupation.

§ 378.—"The supply of labour available from local sources is capable of being increased, and the Commission has given attention to suggestions as to how this is to be done. Any recommendation as to higher wages is quite out of place. In the first place, any departure from the principle that the rate of wages must be a matter of free contract between employer and employé is unsound, nor is any relief from present difficulties to be found in such a measure. To raise the rate of wages in one locality might have the effect of attracting labour to that particular quarter at the expense of other industries, but that would not alter the general situation. Further, it has been stated, and the Commission feels that there is a measure of truth in the suggestion, that while increased wages might have the effect of tempting a larger number of labourers into the market, on the other hand, such increased gains would enable them to remain for a longer period at their own homes.

§ 379.—"The Commission, therefore, makes no recommendation on the subject of the rate of Native wages.

§ 380.—"Any measure of compulsion is to be deprecated, not only as unjust, but as economically unsound. Native evidence in Natal was to the effect that the form of compulsory service obtaining there is intensely distasteful to the Native people concerned. The labour is paid for at less than the prevailing rate, thus penalising the men employed, who, by going out to the ordinary employments open to unskilled labourers, could earn higher wages. Some of the most responsible and important witnesses in Natal expressed in evidence before the Commission their disapproval of this form of compulsory labour.

§ 381.—"Indirect compulsion in the form of a labour tax, with a remission to workers, has been recommended, but the suggestion appears to the Commission to be open to the same objections as apply to direct compulsion; in addition to which, any measure of taxation of this kind to be really effective, would have to be so high as to be impossible of application. Every Native community includes in its number the old, the infirm, and those whom, by virtue of other pursuits, or by reason of family circumstances, it would be very unjust to force from their homes into the labour market or to heavily tax with a view to doing so. But the Commission considers that in the interests of the State, of the development of the great natural resources of the country, and of the Natives themselves, it would not only be legitimate but wise and just to keep in view in all legislative and administrative measures the creation of a condition of things which at least will not perpetuate or aggravate the existing labour difficulty. It cannot but be an advantage to the Natives to be induced without compulsion to become more industrious. Economic pressure and the struggle for existence will be felt by many of them at no very distant date, and an industrious people will be better fitted for such conditions—which are even now arising. The formative influences which labour and industry will bring to bear on the character of the Native himself will be most valuable.

§ 383.—" The following are the recommendations made with a view to stimulate industry among the Natives :—

The *checking* of the practice of *squatting*, by refusal to license all but necessary or desirable private locations, and the imposition of a tax on such locations as may be authorised, based on the number of able-bodied Natives domiciled thereon.

The imposition of a *rent* on Natives living on Crown lands as distinct from recognised reserves or locations, such rent to be based upon the value of such land and to be regularly and punctually collected.

The enforcement of *laws against vagrancy* in municipal areas and Native labour locations, whereby idle persons should be expelled.

The encouragement of a higher standard among Natives by *support given to education* with a view to increase their efficiency and wants.

The encouragement of *industrial and manual training* in schools.

The protection of the Native worker in his health, his comfort, his safety and his interests, by provision for his accommodation and transport when travelling by rail or road to and from his work.

The enactment of regulations which will so far as possible secure that while at the larger labour centres his food, his housing, his sanitation, and his medical treatment, should be satisfactory. In this respect the Commission recognises that very much has already been done at Cape Town, Kimberley, Johannesburg, and other centres.

The abolition of all taxes or charges upon passes when travelling.

386.—" Messrs. Krogh, Hamilton, Thompson and de la Harpe desire to add to the foregoing list of

recommendations made with a view to stimulate industry among the Natives, the following :—

The imposition of an annual rent on location land based on the producing value.

The substitution of individual for communal tenure, with the right of sale between Native and Native.

Close attention to the enumeration of huts liable to tax and the punctual collection of the tax thereon.

§ 410.—"The majority of the Commission are opposed to the idea of rent being charged to Natives on locations and reserves. The resolutions recommend a change wherever the present tax is less than the minimum named therein, *e.g.*, in the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate; but a minority of the Commission urge that above and beyond this change in detail, there is the greater question of whether the Natives should be required, or not, to pay rent for the land they occupy. The Commission has affirmed the principle that rent should be paid in the case of squatters on Crown lands, and in the case of the Natives holding under individual tenure what is now location or reserve land.

§ 411.—"In the opinion of the minority, this principle is sound and should be extended wherever possible, to all land in use or occupation of Natives, such as Native locations or reserves, together with the further principle that the rent should be based on the producing value of the land.

§ 412.—"The minority referred to does not consider that a rent charge by the State could be properly described as taxation, being a payment for value like any other rent. The subject is introduced here because of its collateral bearing upon the matter of taxation, and its direct bearing upon the question of whether the Natives contribute adequately to the State for the benefits they receive from the State.

Among these benefits, not the least is the peaceful use and occupation of large tracts of country, aggregating 141,100,800 acres, throughout South Africa, *free of rent.*

§ 413.—" The minority of the Commission believes that to do away with free land to the Natives would be to strike at the root of much that is most unsatisfactory in Native life—tribalism, communal occupation of land, polygamy, inertness, the comparative unprogressiveness of the mass, the absence of the desire for or incentive to agricultural or industrial paid labour—and that coupled with the right of purchase and sale of land among themselves, leading in time to larger individual holdings, the change would in a relatively short time reduce the number of Natives tied to the locations and reserves, release a large number for work more valuable to themselves and to the country, and would immensely raise the manner of living and the habits of the Natives remaining on the locations and reserves.

§ 414.—" The minority recommends that hand in hand with the levying of rent on land and out of the greatly increased revenue which would thereby accrue, a liberal encouragement and endowment of *schools*, *industrial training institutions*, irrigation works, roads, railways, hospitals and other schemes and works likely to raise the standard of Native life and to *increase their efficiency as economic units* in the State, should be given.

§ 415.—" The Commissioners forming the minority claim that the suggested change would bring the Natives under the pressure of the law " *If a man does not work neither shall he eat*," and by doing so would set in motion certain potent forces which would start the Native races of this country on the upward road more than any legislation which could be devised.

§ 416.—" The view of the majority of the Commission on the subject of the tenure of land by Natives in

what are known as reserves distinctly differs from that set forth above. The majority reject as historically incorrect the view that such land has been given up for the use of the Natives without the existence of any antecedent right on their part. With the exception of certain cases in which land has been granted to Native tribes as an act of grace or in reward for special services (*e.g.*, as was done for the Fingos in what is known as Fingoland), the people are at present in occupation of the ancestral land held by their forefathers. Often the area of this ancestral land has been restricted and several of the tribes occupy considerably less than the extent of country formerly held by them. In the main the Natives have distinct rights which should be regarded as rights of ownership, and there is no justification for the assumption that they ought to be regarded as in occupation merely as tenants at will of the Crown and subject to the payment of annual rent for the use and enjoyment of the land. These tribes came under European government in most cases by peaceful annexation and did not understand that the transfer of sovereign rights to the Crown involved the surrender or forfeiture of land ownership. Therefore, a special tax based on land values and on the assumption that the Natives have been provided with land and should pay rent for it, would be unjust and would be so regarded by them.

§ 417.—"The taxation of the Native should be based upon considerations as to what may be deemed to be an adequate contribution, with a due regard to his means and capacity to contribute to the revenue, and to the proportion of public expenditure which may be chargeable to Native administration. Any form of indirect taxation alone would not be effective in dealing with a people who at present are only commencing to develop a necessity for the taxable commodities of European civilised life. Native contributions to revenue have, therefore, to be supplemented by direct

taxation, and the form of hut tax or poll tax applied where they are domiciled and where they occupy the land is the most convenient and equitable.

§ 418.—"The majority of the Commission deprecate the view that any calculation of the amount of land in occupation of Natives can be based upon the total area of reserves referred to in the argument of the minority and shown in Annexure No. 8. The total of 220,470 square miles includes an area of no less than 127,630 square miles in the Bechuanaland Protectorate which has already been described in this Report as "much of it waterless and unproductive," and which carries a population of ·78 to the square mile. The table in Annexure No. 8 shows the density of the population on the remainder of the reserves as varying from 6·80 in Southern Rhodesia to 132·81 in the Orange River Colony. Excluding the extreme figures, the density of the population in reserves in the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and Basutoland is such, that the majority regard the conclusion that 2,458,281 of the Native population are occupying 141,100,800 acres of land as fallacious and misleading. *A calculation as to distribution of land that may more appropriately be made is that 4,652,662 Natives are allotted in South Africa 220,370 square miles of land as against 694,303 square miles owned by 1,680,529 Europeans and others.* (Italics mine, S.O.)

§ 419.—"The Natal representatives do not concur with the resolutions of the Commission on taxation, with the exception of the first two clauses, with which they agree.

They are of opinion, however, in view of the increase in wages and in the cost of administration, that Natives generally, but especially those who reside on lands set apart for them as locations and reserves and who do not pay rent, are under-taxed at the present time where the hut tax is less than £1 per hut annually. They therefore agree that where the present

hut tax is less than £1 it should be brought up to that figure as a maximum, except in the case of Natives in locations and reserves as already stated, in which case they think that the maximum should be 30s.

As an alternative to the payment of hut tax, they would be in favour of a poll tax of £1 per annum payable by all male Natives above the age of 18 and under 50 years residing on locations or reserves where no rent is paid, provided that Chiefs and Headmen, who fill official positions, are exempted, and that poll tax takes the place of hut tax and any obligation to render compulsory service.

In respect of Natal, where Natives are called upon to render compulsory labour, they are of opinion that this obligation should cease on the imposition of increased taxation up to and above £1 per annum."

X.

THE UNCOLONISED AFRICAN.

In South Africa, as in the New World, the white man has settled, and has introduced his organised industrial system, based upon wage-labour. Or, to speak more accurately, he began by introducing a system based on slave labour; that system was destroyed, partly through its own economic weaknesses, as has been ingeniously shown, with regard to the United States, by the late Professor Cairnes in "The Slave Power," and partly by the political action of the British and United States Governments (in the latter case after civil war) in abolishing the institution of slavery. This action crippled the white colonist. It ruined the planters of the West Indies and the Southern States, and a new industrial dispensation had to construct itself. The West Indies have not recovered and will never recover their position as investments for capital (that is partly because sugar has been cheapened by European competition), the Southern States of America are only regaining it through a manufacturing industrial development. In South Africa, as elsewhere, the abolition of praedial slavery crippled the farmer, and he

has had difficulties, though not so great as in the West Indies, as to labour supply, ever since. Here, too, as in America, industrial capitalism is attempting the task in which praedial capitalism has failed, or in which it has only held its own through the expedient of importing indentured labour from India. Of the relations between colonist and native in the new European possessions in East and Central Africa it is too early to speak. They are to a great extent suitable for white colonisation, and their industrial history may be expected to conform in general to that of South Africa.

But in West Africa the conditions are very different. Although Europeans have long had interests there, they have never established white colonies. The white man cannot live there, much less rear children. The coast lands are not, for the most part, suitable for agriculture, and this fact also has prevented the establishment of plantations in such territory as was conquered and policed. For centuries the settlements founded there by the European nations were merely trading depots. The natives of the interior, so far as their inter-tribal wars and habits of mutual plunder permitted, have always been much addicted to trade among themselves, and traded freely with the white man. Their exports have been mainly rough produce, such as oil and oil-nuts, either growing wild or requiring little culti-

vation. Their direct labour for the white man has been chiefly as boatmen, stevedores, and porters in the handling of exports and imports. Hardly anywhere until recently has the latter sought their services in agricultural or manufacturing labour under his own direction, for the production of the staples of the trade. The characteristic labour difficulties of capitalist industry have, therefore, never developed themselves. The relations and the difficulties have been only those of casual employment, and the troubles have been confined as a rule to strikes of Kroo boys or carriers. In regard to contracts entered into by these classes, the masters' and servants' laws of British Colonies are pretty stringent. A carrier breaking his contract may be imprisoned for a year with hard labour. The inland settlements or "factories" of trading companies are merely stations where imported goods are exchanged for native produce, and the latter prepared for export.

The partition of Western Africa among European nations, and the appropriation of its hinterlands, which has been effected within recent memory, was instigated for the most part by the aim of securing these districts as markets and of increasing trade upon the lines of our traditional intercourse with those countries. Only to a small extent, in respect to minerals, and hardly at all, in the territories annexed by Great Britain, with any view to

planting enterprise was any kind of land appropriation contemplated. Indeed, in the British possessions and protectorates in West Africa the Crown has not assumed the ownership of the soil, the land remains legally in the ownership of native tribes, who have no power of alienation in the form of private property. The concession of lands for mining purposes, and in certain instances for agricultural purposes has been safeguarded by legislation, ensuring proper limitations and providing for reasonable payment to the chiefs of the tribes concerned. Where these principles have been adhered to, the danger of oppression in dealings with native tribes is much restricted. In the Congo Free State and in other non-British Colonies, ownership in the land has been asserted by the State Government, and land has been alienated to the control of exploiting companies. There is thus here a firmer basis for pressure on the natives.

So long as the relations of European nations with native tribes in West Africa were confined to trade, and to those casual services which I have mentioned in connection with trade, the relation between the employing and the employed class was essentially a free one. The employer was not in a position to put any compulsion upon the employee beyond the limit of the latter's own desires, and he was not in a position to increase his needs by taxation, by forced labour of any kind, or by

excluding him from access to land. Indirectly, the white adventurer may in some cases have been in a position to obtain forced labour for special purposes through contracts with chiefs, but this element in the situation is insignificant. The whole of the activity of British administration in these countries, and in a great measure that of other European governments, has been devoted to the aim of opening up the countries to trade. This has entailed, and will doubtless for a considerable time to come continue to entail, a certain amount of violence, for the inhabitants do not as a rule desire the intrusion of the white man into their country. More especially the militant native tribes, who live by the exploitation of the less bellicose masses of the population, do not desire such intrusion. In these circumstances, unprovoked attacks upon peaceable European expeditions are liable to occur. These lead to retaliation and the destruction of the attacking power. The result of these operations is unquestionably to increase the liberty and prosperity of the average of the population and to set free an increasing volume of trading enterprise among them. Within these bounds at least, therefore, the contact of the white man with these countries is industrially advantageous to their populations, and does not necessarily involve any oppressive policy.

It is true that the slave raiders and the cannibals are deprived of important ingredients

in their joy of life, and it may even be alleged that the populations on whom they have expended their energies find existence somewhat dull under the British administration. But on the whole there can be no question that the conditions of existence for the majority are improved, and so long as the institutions of tribal law and government are not interfered with, but are utilised and encouraged as a scaffolding for the social growth of the people, the superposition of British control has little directly disintegrating effect.

Indirectly, however, the pacification and opening up of these countries does tend continually to weaken the tribal system, by rendering it more easy for individuals to leave the control and protection of their tribe, to free themselves from their tribal obligations, to drift down to the coast and find casual employment about the coast towns, or to hire themselves in the mines, where there are any.

The history of recent developments in the Congo Free State, with their less aggravated parallel in the French Congo, is typical of the methods in which white capital may conduct its operations when it breaks away from the old West African trading idea and endeavours to force production. The traditional products of West Africa were bulky natural staples, the value of which, in proportion to their quantity, was not, except in the case of gold and ivory, very considerable. It

was a steady trade, the feeding of which could be left to the enterprise and self-interest of the natives, not yielding sufficient profit to make it possible for white men to engage actively in production, or even worth while for them to exercise private pressure upon the natives. But the development of demand for rubber, a product having a high value in proportion to its bulk, introduced in these territories a new policy into European relations with the African. The system of the Congo State has been to grant concessions of territory to exploiting companies whose officers have organised a direct system for the extraction of rubber from West Africa by compulsion and punishment of the natives. There is advanced in the recent report of the Commission of Enquiry into this system a kind of grotesque pretence that it is based upon the philanthropic policy. The old familiar cant is gravely repeated that the indolence of the natives needs to be extirpated and the understanding of the dignity of labour instilled, that the native must be civilised by being taught to work, and moreover that he ought to pay taxes for the benefits conferred on him by the administration in setting up the machinery for this educative process. A hierarchy of extortion is established. A district, a tribe, a village, a family, is assessed to produce so much rubber per fortnight. Collective responsibility is insisted on, and is enforced by col-

lective punishment. That is to say, that if a particular group assessed does not at the proper time deliver the required amount of produce, pretty well any member of that group, man, woman, or child, that can be caught, is liable to be shot, flogged, or maimed by the officers of a special police of slave hunters and cannibals enrolled for the purpose.

This is a system very simple and direct in its conception. It is a kind of inversion of the old slave trade. The principle of that institution was to take Africans to plantations where Europeans could live, and to make them work there, under the lash if necessary, to produce wealth for their owners. The improvement of arms of precision, quick-firing guns, and similar advantages have now enabled the white man, impelled by the same purpose, to venture into African territory, and, without taking upon himself the risks of settlement or the odium of being explicitly a slave owner, to compel the native population to extract for him there from the soil the wealth that he covets. The process, as exemplified in the Congo Free State, is perhaps the most singular and typical example of the acute operation of capital, in simplified form, at present open to study.

A different variety of such operation is to be found in the system of indentured labour carried on by the Portuguese for their cocoa plantations in the island of San Thomé, which

has been very fully described and analysed in Mr. H. W. Nevinson's "A Modern Slavery," recently published by Messrs. Harper Bros. This system is not nominally slavery, but, according to Mr. Nevinson, the enrolment of labourers is practically forced enlistment, the services of the natives enrolled being purchased from their tribal chiefs (as is said to be also the case in Portuguese East Africa, an important recruiting ground for the Transvaal), whilst those indentured have no means of returning home at the end of their contracts, and are under servile compulsion during the period of their service. In effect, the results of the system are absolutely indistinguishable from chattel slavery of a markedly cruel type.

I have referred to the Congo State system and to the servile indenture system of San Thomé, not in order to throw special disparagement upon the colonial methods of other nations, and not with any desire to enlarge on horrors to which abundant publicity has of late been given, but as furnishing characteristic examples of the methods to which capitalist enterprise is ready to have recourse when it takes in hand the exploitation of labour in a country where natural conditions leave it free. It cannot be too often repeated that (in the absence of chattel slavery, which is based on capture and force) where land is not monopolised no oppressive industrial system can be established. Experi-

ence shows that wherever the African races are not compelled by such a monopoly to work at wages their labour for an employer is fitful and unreliable, and leaves him little margin of profit. Where humanity has forbidden the forcible oppression of the African worker, and where enlightened control has prevented the imposition of special taxation or other artificial modes of increasing his needs, recourse has been found necessary to the importation under contract of labourers from India, China, Madeira, or other countries where land is fully occupied in private ownership, and where population presses on the means of subsistence. The compulsion which forces the Indian coolie or the indentured Chinese to work regularly in a foreign land is ostensibly embodied in certain regulations and penalties under which he consents to place himself when he enters into indenture, but the real compulsion, the need that makes him accept these quasi-servile conditions, is precisely the same as that which makes the European workman work his six days a week from morning to night, the alternative, namely, of starvation. Under pressure of this compulsion, under simple fear of "the sack," the European meekly and voluntarily submits to conditions of discipline and routine to which the indentured Asiatic has to be bound by legal penalties. Where this compulsion is absent, no human being tolerates the sacrifices

of personal liberty habitually required by developed capitalist enterprise of the workers for whose service it calls.

XI.

INDENTURED IMMIGRANT LABOUR.

For some time past the political atmosphere has been so hot with discussion of the indenturing of Chinese for labour in the mines of the Transvaal that it would be superfluous to discuss at any length this particular example of the indentured immigrant system. It is, however, important to notice clearly the essential significance of this method of labour supply. In the Transvaal experiment there have been certain differentiating features arising out of the special local conditions. Discussion of these has perhaps somewhat obscured understanding of the real substance of the situation. It is conceivable that these special features might be eliminated, and the business administered in South Africa as it is in the West Indies and British Guiana. There is no impossibility of employing indentured labour in mines under conditions as little creative of prejudice as those under which it is used on plantations. The essential part of all such contracts is that the labourer engages, under penalties of fine or imprisonment, to work continuously for a minimum period, sufficient to allow the profits of his employer

from his labour to recoup him for the outlay on his importation and for the provision of house-room and other accommodation for him.

A civilised and humane State takes care that where this system exists sufficient safeguards are framed against oppression and ill-treatment of indentured labour, by the provision of inspectors and the prosecution of offending employers, just as it takes similar care, by factory laws and inspection at home, for the decent conduct of capitalist enterprise under what is called the free wage system, and as it regulates the contracts and treatment of seamen, who have to serve in conditions very much less free than those of a coolie on a West Indian sugar estate. If we carefully compare the essentials of the situation as between a modern industrial community and a tropical dependency, where white enterprise is exploiting native resources, we shall, I believe, be forced to recognise that inhuman social conditions arise in them much more out of the opposition in the categories of Capital and Labour than out of the opposition in the category of race or colour. By inhuman social conditions I mean oppression by the employer and disloyalty in the employee, with the corresponding antagonism, aversion, and mutual disaffection between classes in one commonwealth.

I have remarked that no human being voluntarily submits himself to the condi-

tions habitually required by developed capitalist enterprise of the workers for whose service it calls. This is a truism. The tropical native is not under such compulsion, so the capitalist has to go where poverty, as in India and China, has placed the common man under the same necessity as he is in this country. Necessity more stringent, no doubt, as is requisite to induce him to accept exile, but necessity the same in kind. The servile conditions of factory and sweating-shop industry have only been abated with us by generations of ordered industrial warfare, in which thousands of the workers have perished, and by a century of legislative effort, still far from the attainment of its programme.

Wherever we have organised capital employing masses of workers, there, unless we have the control and vigilant intervention of the State, together with completely efficient trade unions—there inevitably we shall have servile conditions imposed on the workers. One true moral of the recent inflamed controversy as to the "servility" of indentured labour, Chinese or other, is that wherever the industrial form of capitalist production is set up and economic necessities only are regarded, there will arise conditions which all who have the instinct of liberty will denounce as servile. But if any who have spoken of "Chinese slavery" have forgotten the cruel compulsions and humiliations abounding in the life of the

European worker, then justly may they be charged with superstition and exaggeration.

The indentured Indian coolie in British Guiana or Trinidad is, in regard to the satisfaction of his desires and the attainment of comfort, much better off than the average European unskilled worker, but he would not be so if he were not protected. It has often been pointed out that comfort is one thing and freedom another, but less often that there are varying social standards of judgment as to what constitutes freedom : and it is notable that the West Indian negro thinks the coolie more of a slave than we do. That is because the economic conditions of his life are freer than those of our proletariat who take themselves, as a rule, as the type of free men, and his standard of independence so much the higher. He would quite understand why the Socialist calls our freedom " wage-slavery." The protection by the State of indentured labour in our Colonies is not a democratic domestic compulsion, as is our own industrial legislation : it is a paternal and humanitarian compulsion. It is imposed from without by the statesmanship of the Indian and British Governments. Without going so far as to suggest that in the absence of these external authorities the condition of indentured labourers in the West Indies would be as bad as it is on Portuguese plantations in Africa (since the English temperament may well be

more humane than the Portuguese), we may be quite certain that were this compulsion absent there would be much oppression and cruelty to indentured coolies. So it has been, and so it would be again. There is in such communities neither the humane public opinion nor the democratic self-interest and organised power to check it.

XII.

THE INDUSTRIAL FACTOR IN RACE PREJUDICE.

It is a deplorable but unquestionable fact of experience, and it is the basis of practical democratic conviction in politics and industry, that if you give one average man command over the services of another for his own purposes, he will abuse it. The matter is not disposed of by protesting that our countrymen in the colonies are as humane as ourselves. For the most part indeed, it is positively not the fact that the men who find their place in the colonies as overseers or foremen of native labour are as humane as the average of British public sentiment; it would be illusory to pretend that they are so, and they certainly do not as a class claim any such quality, rather shunning the imputation of squeamishness. And in the population of a new exploiting settlement, such diamonds of the rougher type predominate. Even in a democratic white community—the United States—the attitude of Capital to Labour, determined only by economic motive, is perfectly ruthless. Nothing is gained by pretending that a labour-driver is more con-

siderate when he is dealing with black men: on the contrary, the danger of inhumanity is much greater where there is racial distinction, because this, at best, obscures the human sense of sympathy: but where this obscuration is enhanced by a positive theory of racial incompatibility and inferiority, race prejudice intensifies the tendency to oppression in exploitation. The social claims that are recognised in the fellow white man are expressly denied to exist at all in the black. That this theory is prevalent, if not absolutely predominant in the industrial communities that are springing up on a basis of coloured labour no honest and well informed observer will for a moment deny. It is preached as an axiom of public policy in America and in South Africa that the safety of the State depends upon the maintenance of this doctrine. The distinction in sensibility, in industrial standard, between an alien race and the white, is deemed, by such an authority as Lord Milner, a Providential dispensation. Such a doctrine reacts upon the temper of the employer in industry, and on his conception of suitable methods for dealing with coloured workmen; but that the doctrine is itself rather a product of the industrial relation than a cause of its deficiency in humanity is, I think, evident from a consideration of the enormous degree to which this attitude of mind has gained ground during the recent

extension of capitalistic industrial enterprise in the territories of coloured proletariats.

Colour prejudice has increased of late years in the Southern States of America. This is not entirely because of the development of capitalist manufacturing industry in the South during the same period, but it is largely so beyond question. Industrial jealousy has been stimulated by the competition between white and black labour, it has called in colour prejudice to its aid, as it has been called in in politics; and the white men's unions are determined to exclude black labour from the factories. When self-interest impels one class or race of men to do injustice to another they will find a moral or religious excuse for it, and I have shown how this affects colour prejudice in America. In Africa the coincidence is more marked. The development in the Congo State, where the native is denied any kind of human right, is purely and directly the expression of exploiting greed.

The most prolonged and intimate contact of white men with Africans has been that of missionaries who took with them, and have seen no reason to abandon, the conviction of the ultimate equal humanity of the races, expressed in the formula of brotherhood through a common Father. But when it became possible for white men to get into industrial relations with the same natives, the theory changed, the secular creed asserted

itself, and the time-honoured theory in the faith of which chattel slavery was abolished becomes a laughing stock. The sentiment that the black man is "only fit for slavery" is heard quite frequently now; it has become common within our own memory. It is notable that in a country like Nigeria, where there has as yet been no invasion of capital seeking labour for direct employment, and where our administration is quasi-military, we are still priding ourselves on putting the old British theory into practice, and are destroying slavery. We still base our claims to be there on our practical propaganda of freedom. But where that imported demand for productive labour, of which I have spoken above, is becoming the paramount influence in the community, the tendency of all political theory is the reverse.

The "Negrophilist," to use that question-begging term which in such countries comes to carry so much odium and disparagement, is one whose judgment is not yet distorted by the influence of the economic demands of the capitalist industrial system. His most common type has been the Evangelical missionary, but he is common enough in all classes where there is no perverting interest to prejudice him towards material compulsion on the native.

The negrophilist missionary does not consider the black man has nothing to learn from the white: he considers that he has a great

deal to learn, and that much of his nature is still exceedingly bestial in departments in which evolution has refined and improved the white. But he cannot accept the superficial deductions which race-antagonism makes from these differences. All over the world, where white men have mixed with coloured, you will find very many filled with acute racial prejudice. It is marked in many Anglo-Indians. But in the same places you will find men who feel that the race distinctions are superficial, and so far from being final and insuperable, are really, compared with the dominant facts, unimportant. These men have made personal friends with persons of the alien race, and they know that such friendship is of precisely the same quality as is their friendship for men and women of their own race, or for men and women of France, Germany, or any other nation that may have been from time to time patriotically regarded as the natural foe of their country. But this appreciation of equality is attained in a totally different region of human relations from that of economic self-interest, and the man who comes in contact with other races under the stimulus of economic motive is not favourably adjusted to discover it. Quite the reverse. In the simplest form of such meeting he lands in the alien's country and has to fight for life before he can even think of peaceably producing his own living, much less of getting the alien to

help him to do it. In South Africa he has even had in some instances to defend his own prior settlement against invading and multiplying hordes of warlike Kaffirs. We must recognise that the contacts of human races seeking subsistence have always for the most part begun with war, and that if we are hostile to any European nation to-day it is chiefly from economic jealousy. And even of those that assert the inferiority of the alien it must be admitted that many assert an essential human equality, only they allege the necessity of disciplining the inferior by a process that involves the practical negation of it.

XIII.

THE MISSIONARY PLEA.

THERE are two motives which bring the white man into contact with coloured races; and though one is much more conspicuously operative than the other they are so essentially distinct, and the less prevalent one is in itself so important that it is necessary to co-ordinate them. White men go to uncivilised lands as missionaries desiring to benefit the natives, and they go to make money or a livelihood, desiring to benefit themselves. We are not concerned to investigate the doctrine which the missionary goes to preach, or its suitability to the mind of the savage: we need only concern ourselves here with the impulse and the method of the intercourse. Essentially, missionary enterprise is prompted by goodwill, and devoid of personal self-seeking, and its aim is educational; that is to say, it assumes that the savage has a soul that can be redeemed, or at least an intelligence that can be stimulated through teaching, by the reasonable presentation of truth or the persuasive inculcation of beliefs which will change his desires and impulses and cause him to order his life in a manner not only con-

ducive to his eternal salvation, but also more agreeable to civilised standards. It is true that a great amount of missionary enterprise in the world's history has been far less sweetly reasonable in its methods than this. The great colonial expansion of Spain was inspired by religious zeal as emphatically as by economic motives; the slave trade was justified in the name of salvation, and it would be a great error to regard this as a merely hypocritical pretext. But, taking the most charitable view of it, the missionary enterprise of Spain was conducted on the theory that conquest, annexation and forced labour were well-pleasing to God as a method of saving souls, and the result was that its outcome was slavery both of body and mind. The Spanish missionaries themselves were characteristically missionary in their personal impulse: the use that was made of the duty of proselytism by the secular side of the community does not obscure that fact. Where however, missionaries have not been supported by secular force, as in the case of missions to savage tribes in Africa, where there has been nothing to tempt or to support secular invasion, the self-devotion of the missionary method has been more conspicuous. The theory that the savage is an ignorant child who must be compelled for his own good has flourished less where the power to enforce discipline has been wanting.

It may even be remarked that the policy of

the missionary school—the school that claims to deal with the coloured man solely with a view to his own progress, and not to the profit of the European—has taken of late years a distinct form, different from its earlier, namely, that of advocating the exclusion of secular white influence from native territories and institutions. To maintain the tribal system, the native courts, is the policy now advocated where it is still possible. It is only fully possible where white men are excluded from settlement, and from the exploitation of minerals and the other natural resources of the country. The problem then ceases—so far as that territory is concerned—to be one of "white capital and coloured labour." But it is difficult to believe that such exclusiveness can be maintained in any country suitable for white settlement. If certain areas are reserved for native occupation, the white man may claim reciprocally—as is in fact recommended by the South African Native Affairs Commission—that the black man shall not be permitted to own land in the white areas, in which case, no matter how crowded his own area may become through his prolific multiplication, he can only enter the white man's country as a landless proletarian, and the problem is forthwith set up in its most precise form. Moreover, wherever the populations are already intermixed, such a course for allowing the coloured man to find his own line of development under

the intellectual stimulus of the white is impracticable, as it is in the United States and the West Indies, and increasingly in South Africa. Further, it does not meet the unanswerable claim of the white man that he has a right to go where he can live, nor his reasonable conviction that if he has admission to these territories he can by his productive and agricultural arts enable them to maintain and enrich both himself and the native. However suspect this claim and promise may be to the champions of native races, it is, so long as the white man conducts himself humanely and peacefully, a perfectly defensible claim. In any case, where the white man is driven by economic necessity and is strong enough to enforce it, it is one that will and must prevail, either peaceably or by violence, as it has prevailed in the colonisation of Australia and America, and in the pastoral colonisation of South Africa. In such circumstances it is idle to debate whether it is good or bad, justifiable or not.

The educative protection of the coloured by the white, which is advocated by this branch of the missionary school, would anyhow leave the native in that state of economic independence that is so inconvenient to capitalist enterprise. So far as any such policy is carried into effect, it co-operates in that tendency to defeat the capitalist system which I have pointed out as a native characteristic of the

African temperament elsewhere. It excludes those incentives of land-monopoly and high taxation which the recent Commission on the Congo Free State recognised as necessary to bring the African to school.

The theory that civilised races owe a duty to the uncivilised is no doubt held to-day by many people as a sincere moral conviction. So far as it is genuinely held it produces and supports missions of various kinds. It is a most real and valuable human impulse. But it has never, by itself, caused any race to annex the territory of any other or assume its government. It has assisted and served as a pretext (as in the Spanish colonisation) where there were inducements to the secular power, especially where the inducements were gold, precious stones, and metals, or produce having a high monopoly value, as spices and sugar once had. Failing these, it has never effectually operated to induce any white Power to "take up the white man's burden"; so that practically one must say that it has been impotent as a colonising force, and that whoever appeals to it as a reason for advocating colonisation, or, rather, protectoral annexation of some tropical country, must, if he is to hope to be heard, show some other attraction as well. Quite reasonably, for the assumption of control calls for money. It becomes a business matter. If you want money from a business man you must show him a prospect of return.

If he does not want return, it is probable either that he is not a rich man, or that, if he is, he will not be prepared to pay very much. If he is prepared to sacrifice a great deal in order to bring the blessings of civilisation to the heathen without reward, he is rather the sort of man who will either become a missionary himself or will prefer to support missionary enterprise in missionary methods.

We must accordingly recognise that the theory that white races impose or should impose their presence on coloured races from missionary motives is vain. I have referred to it at this length, vain as it is, because we have heard so much of it in recent years. No. The truly efficient cause of inter-racial intercourse is, and always has been, economic motive: the exercise, not of a duty of elevating backward races, but of the personal right or determination to live. No one has any call to abuse the white man for following this impulse. The proposition that any race has a sacred right to exclude strangers from the advantages of the territory it occupies so long as those strangers conduct themselves inoffensively is indefensible. The right of exclusion is simply one of might and of domestic convenience. Unfortunately, the experience which uncivilised tribes have had of immigrant white men has generally been such as to cause them now to regard all whites as a source of danger, and the inoffensive suffer in conse-

quence. No one can say that the European has not the right to settle in Africa, because at the time of his coming it was sparsely inhabited by savages of another race. The savage has no justification for killing the peaceful immigrant, and though it is quite intelligible that he should do so, we cannot blame the white settler for killing him when he attempts it. Land monpoly has no more a divine sanction in savage than in civilised countries. It may be—it often has been—by no means the fault of the white man if his coming brings bloodshed.

On the other hand it is unquestionable that white colonisation, impelled by the economic motive, has often been marked by abominable treacheries and cruelties. These are not a necessity of the case, and therefore I do not labour them; I merely wish to call attention to the modern form of the old combination of proselytism and personal interest. The old form, exemplified in the Spanish colonisation was: Annex and govern these regions, because by so doing you will bring the heathen under the ministrations of Holy Church, and, no matter what befalls their bodies, their souls will be saved by their conversion and by the Sacraments. We sometimes hear an echo of this form to-day; for instance, when it is argued by a Colonial bishop that the indenturing of Chinese for Africa will give them a similar chance; but for the most part the

doctrine is more secular. It is that the white man and the white man's civilisation are a higher and better thing than the black (which is not at all an Evangelical Christian doctrine, nor one acted upon in practice by the most effectual missionaries); and that the industrial system of the white man—not his learning or even his religion—is the best school for the black man's education. It is quite common for British philanthropists of this school to maintain that Islam is a better religion for Africans than Christianity.

It is notable that Christian Missionaries have very often dissented vehemently from the educational theories of this school. They have indeed complained, very generally, that the contact of the civilised man, in pursuit of his own profit, with the coloured, has been largely demoralising. (The secular school have not been slow to return the compliment, and to allege that the native converted is a native spoiled.) The missionaries have desired to interfere with the sale of spirits to the natives—an article of luxury of which there is great consumption in all civilised countries. Their theory of the content of education differs. They believe in giving the instruments of knowledge, in the form of reading, writing, and book-learning. The secular school point to the African "scholar" as a deplorable product, and advocate an education exclusively manual and technical.

Each school is doubtless right in much of its criticism of the other; but the missionary school has the cleaner hands, and its theory is the less tinged with motive. Unfortunately, the work of both is in its characteristic manner destructive of the form of life that has nurtured the race, and by this action must do what for the moment at least seems injury. For instance, if the native, under the teaching of Christianity, abandons polygamy, his social system is disturbed by the creation of a class of homeless women. If he abandons his tribe to work for wages in the white centres of industry not only is his contribution towards the support of ineffectives withdrawn from it, but he forfeits that claim himself, and has the prospect of destitution before him in his old age. If the missionary contact has failed to effect all it aimed at it has at any rate not furnished him with new vices. This the town-civilisation of mining centres abundantly does.

XIV.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

In the contact of white and coloured in the native lands of the latter, that process of fusion by interbreeding to which I alluded as significant in some other parts of the world does not appear likely to play an important part. That men of mixed European and African breed are destined to be influential in advancing the solution of race problems of the United States and the West Indies can hardly be questioned. But in these countries special social conditions both conduced to the original and derivative interbreeding and favoured the survival and nurture of offspring. Where the white has not possessed the black in slavery there has arisen no such considerable class of mixed blood, at any rate in British Colonies, and the prejudice on the part of the white element against interbreeding has been originally stronger and tends to increase in strength. I have pointed out that where such a hybrid class has come into being and has attained an organic and honourable position in a mixed community it is, in fact, an advantageous element; but it is clear that such a class cannot be expected

to attain such a position in the near future in those vast African dominions which white men have of recent years begun to attempt to exploit. It is in these countries that white and black are, or will be, most distinctly confronted in the class division of employer and employee, and in such countries, in the comparative absence of this hybrid "middle class" this confrontation appears likely to persist most stubbornly. The biological race distinctions which are the basis of so much of race antagonism, will be the less subject to modification, and any bridging of the gulf must be effected the more exclusively by the operation of intellectual influences.

In the promotion of these, however, even a small number of talented men of mixed race, if loyal to the best in both sides of their parentage, can do much to act as profitable interpreters and intermediaries.

As already observed, whatever real and substantial incompatibilities there may be between races, judgment of their importance is deeply prejudiced by the importation of the relation of employer and employee. No matter how reasonably it may be asserted that the interests of the two classes are identical it remains unquestionable that this economic relation does obscure and distort the apprehension of more deeply human relations. This prejudice affects the views of the question of the black man's education as it does other

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judgements concerning him. There is always a tendency for the employing, or would-be employing, class to disparage and underestimate the capacity of the employee class for education (it is the case all over the world, and not merely as between white and black), whilst, at the same time, there is a dread of giving the proletariat education, lest they should become too clever, and get notions above their station.

The African races generally have a subtle dialectical faculty, and are, in some ways, far quicker in apprehension than the average Caucasian. These faculties and the African's natural gift of rhetoric are often to be observed in somewhat erratic exercise, owing to the poverty of the material they are employed on: in other words, the educated or rather the sophisticated African is frequently a windbag; but, wherever he has to deal with the familiar material of his own personal interests, education does not leave him a windbag, but distinctly increases his capacity. He can assimilate what he sees a use for. I have said that the West Indian negro is not fit for complete democratic citizenship in a constitution of modern Parliamentary form, and I should certainly hold the same opinion with respect to any African native community. But with respect to the matters which touch his daily life in a small community, the African, whether at home, or even in exile, after the great hiatus

of slavery, shows practical shrewdness and aptitude for the affairs of local government. His legal acumen is higher than that of the European. The operations of a civilised European State are at present out of range of his experience, but the meaning of taxation, the meaning of the restriction of his access to land, of his experiences in service with the white man, are things that he comes very easily to understand; and as soon as he becomes at all literate he proves a very acute interpreter of the contents of written contracts. In these respects, however much the fact may be obscured by his illiteracy, his alien language, and the other obstacles to a clear understanding of him, the so-called savage of most African tribes, having had for so many generations to live by his wits or his cunning, has really a considerable start of the average white unskilled labourer of Europe, with whom we tend to compare him. The counsel of those who recommend that the black man in a mixed community should not be educated, lest he should become a danger, is idle. Mere contact and intercourse with the white gives a stimulus to his intellect and his will, which sets him on the track of such knowledge as is relevant to his practical needs, and, from the lowest point of view it is safer for the white man that he should have the opportunity of getting this knowledge right end foremost.

The educational problem is not going to be solved, either, by the blessed word "manual instruction." It is pathetic to hear the obscurantist planter, the colonist who believes in keeping the natives in their place, relenting towards the missionary who sets up a technical school, and speaking quite tolerantly of him. The missionary has learnt much in the school of experience. He is not teaching his scholars trades for the benefit of the white employer; but because the Colonial white man has made it impossible for him to teach the natives, for their own benefit, anything else, except perhaps the best thing of all—the belief in human character. The missionaries would have liked to make their scholars Christians. This might have been possible had the missionaries had the field to themselves, as they had in the early days in the Bechuana country. A wise native ruler, like Khama, may be quite capable of recognising the superiority of Christianity to paganism as an instrument of the human spirit, and of adopting it as his tribal religion with good results, not the least among them being the co operation of white missionary influences in securing his lands from the fate of those of his neighbours, the Mashonas and Matabeles. But the native does not believe in words and names, except as convenient instruments for a purpose; he believes in facts and forces; and he sees that the white men with whom he has to do in the relations of

fact and force are not Christians either in doctrine or in practice. White contact and immigration, therefore, will not make Africa Christian. They will tend to do so less and less as the secular interest gains ground on the spiritual in the white man's contact with them. Whatever the white man's Ju Ju may seem to be for the African (and it is plainly a good thing, full of marvellous powers), it evidently does not come out of Nazareth. The Bible of the missionaries implants that dangerous ferment that made Lollardry and the Villein's revolt in England, the Hussites and the peasant war in Germany, congregational and democratic Protestantism in France, and the rest of the Jacqueries, all beaten out by fire and sword and exile so long as the privileged castes could fight that spirit in Europe, and now that it takes form in the Ethiopian church, denounced and stamped out to-day with the same weapons and on the same secular grounds. This kind of Christianity the native, like his forerunner in Europe, can apprehend, and he is taught it is heresy. He will not accept High Anglicanism in its place: he is too rebellious and independent of spirit, too Protestant and congregational for Roman Catholicism. But the missionary can doctor him and can teach him trades, and for these things he will still thank the missionary. And because he loves those that love him, more

easily and instinctively than the Caucasian, and because he trusts those whom he has come to know are honest, the missionary may still for a long time have power with him.

In considering the effects on the black of contact with the white, the character of his psychical constitution, especially in its religious aspect, must be borne in mind. The African is more completely steeped or immersed in religion—call it, if you will, superstition—than the average European that confronts him. Whereas we live habitually in the sensible and rational world, and only by an effort and half-sceptically take cognisance even of what we recognise as subconscious parts of our nature, having positive existence and activity, the African never thinks of anything as having merely sensible or material existence.

Everything for him is body of spirit, himself included, and the fact that the bodily existence is only one side of existence for him partly accounts for his indifference to human life. Human sacrifices, cannibalism, and other ceremonial barbarities among the pagan tribes, the recklessness of slaughter at the chief's bidding in the military tribes, are all bound up with this outlook on life and with the position of the chief as the supreme embodiment and interpreter of the spiritual power. The subconscious, subliminal, part of the influences and powers that we discern in

the human mind bears a much greater proportion to the conscious and rationalised part in the African than in the civilised European. This is not only to say that he is more emotional, which he is, in good senses as well as in bad, or that he is more the child of passion: he is in some respects less so; in some more: it means that a greater proportion of what enters into his consciousness is fluid and plastic to the imagination. The pressure and exigencies of evolution in civilised life have not provided him with that great and elaborate superstructure of popular science, habits, and formulas that takes up most of our own attention and consciousness, so engrossing it for the most part that we have almost come to ignore the existence of anything outside or beneath it. The African, like the psychic medium, has his consciousness more open to what is beneath this superficial raft of established means of survival in terrestrial consciousness, and, like the medium, he formulates as real existences in definite shapes the impressions that come to him out of the vague depths of life. Hence his capacity for quick adaptation to the forms of the white man's religion and rhetoric; hence, too, the comparative shallowness of their real hold upon him. How far the African's consciousness really penetrates deeper than the civilised man's into the abysses of his own temperament it is impossible to conjecture: all one can say

is that whilst within the narrow bounds of his rational and practical world he is markedly and even grossly practical, he is at the same time more conscious of the unformulated powers of life and less under the dominion of the formulated. Hence, also, his comparative inaccessibility to rational economic motive, and his consequent unreliability as a wage worker. Hence his quickness of direct sympathetic apprehension in many respects, and his appreciation of the emotional and democratic elements of evangelical Christianity. Take into account with this fluid mass of temperament the great bodily strength of the African, his efficient nutrition, his reproductive vitality, and his comparative intractability to anything except physical force in the attempt of the white man to make him work for his profit, and it must, I think, appear difficult to imagine that he is not likely to have a good deal of his own way in his future social and industrial development. There is a strong ground for presumption that that will not be the way of civilised industrial evolution, as we have seen it in our own countries, no matter how much this may appear to its professors the only conceivable school for human progress.

The time has gone by when the coloured man could be dealt with entirely by force. Absolute disciplinary domination will no more be tolerated now by that public sentiment that,

with intermittent reactionary interruptions, finally leads and determines history in such matters, than chattel slavery would be. Even into the hell of the Congo Free State humane opinion fitfully penetrates. In the principal presentations of the problem of the relations of white capital and coloured labour the solution of difficulties by extermination of the original natives, which has been practically effected in Australia and North America, is unthinkable. The creation of solitudes, as in the Congo State and Angora, where once were populous villages, along certain trade routes, by the fear of the white man and of his carriers and bodyguard, can only be a temporary phenomenon. Carried too far it would destroy the profit of trading, the route would be abandoned, and the population would in course of time renew itself. Even if the white man were in a position to kill out the native African, as he killed out the native American, which he is not, either physically or morally, the fundamental assumption of all our study of this question is that he wants the black man's labour, and so must preserve him alive. This assumption granted, it is as certain that the position of the black man in the State where he mixes with the white must approach more and more to equality as it was that such an approach should be made by the descendants of the conquered Saxons and Britons.

Plausible as may be the doctrine that the

black man is a child, and must be dealt with as such, it must inevitably break down before the natural reactions of the human will. Such a theory always blindly ignores all that content of the black man's consciousness which is not obvious from its own point of view. As I have put it above, it ignores that the mind of the native is a full cup, and gives its own account of whatever comes into it. The fact is that the white man does not come to the black treating him as a child. He either comes to him setting up an industrial relation, and calling for him as a labourer, or setting up a State and calling on him for taxes. Now, in either of these relations there is nothing of the child and the teacher. There is nothing occult, or demanding high political erudition in the doctrine that taxation should imply representation. The argument for the native has nothing to do with the question whether the person from whom the taxes are demanded is fit for political power in a civilised State or not; it is a perfectly simple and elementary form of the question that any man will ask of any other who comes and demands money from him: "What for? If I am to pay you money what am I to get for it, and how am I to know that I get it?" The black man needs no education to ask this question, nor, when he is told that the demand is to provide for the Government that fosters him, does he need any political agitation to prompt him to ask

where the fostering is exhibited. Where results for his benefit are shown, he, on his side, shows himself quite capable of appreciating them; but where the operations of the State exhibit themselves chiefly in limiting his access to land and putting pressure on his industrial liberty, he is equally capable of invincible impenetrability to the white man's logic. In that case, if you want his money you will have to take it by force, or the fear of force. And if the black man thinks, as Wat Tyler did about the poll tax, and as Hampden did about the ship-money, that he can put up a good fight on the question, we may safely expect he will try it. That is all there is in the mystery of the native mind of which we have been so frequently admonished of late.

XV.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WHITE ON THE BLACK.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc, in his recently published book, "Esto Perpetua," views Europe from the edge of the African continent, and with the Sahara and the Soudan at his back, pours out his admiration and gratitude for the white man's work for Humanity. It is a justified attitude. The white man is to the black a force whose significance he cannot ignore. However fearless the black may be in fight, the white is to him what is conveyed in the Greek adjective "deinos," a creature ingeniously terrible, and he is more. He can command the black man, win his confidence, and even his loyalty, because at his best he has in him, more fully realised and emancipated, human qualities that the black man prizes in himself, and whose virtue he covets as necessary to his own self-realisation. The black man does not love the white man *qua* white man; seldom, perhaps, even the individual white man as a person; but the genius, faculties, and deeds of the white man fascinate and arrest him, not only as manifestations of power, but because they stir in him a latent

confidence that he can imitate, acquire, and exercise the same. That in the partially educated coloured man and woman this aspiration sometimes shows itself in grotesque forms, of monkey fashions of costume and behaviour, of aspirations to a creamy sallowness of complexion, extending to the use of pearl powder on a sable skin for Sunday church-going, and the like, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the influence and aspiration are real, and that through this manner of stimulus only is there much prospect of the white man contributing to the improvement of the coloured. Where his economic interests conflict with those of natives he improves them off the face of the earth. There are, in such circumstances, no good Indians, except dead Indians. Where there is no such direct competition, his commerce may destroy and demoralise them, his demand for their labour break up their tribal system and convert them into a landless proletariat.

One cannot but be struck, in the West Indies, with the comparative insignificance of what the coloured man has learnt industrially from the white; and this consideration is one of the sources of despondency as to the outlook in some of those communities. And yet, in many respects, he has learnt and acquired a great deal. Only it seems he has not learnt the things that the white man tried to teach him, and did temporarily teach him for his,

the master's, advantage. But he learns and will learn the things that he perceives to be for his own advantage. He does not want more white civilisation than he chooses to take.

The most interesting and instructive material for a study of the probable future development of the native in South Africa will be found in a comparison of his social evolution in the cases of Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and in the territories that are being occupied and governed as "white man's countries," and where the tendency is to curtail the native's access to land, and to bring him into industrial tutelage.

Equally interesting in regard to black territories of West Africa is the enormous experiment taken in hand in the Protectorates of Nigeria, and the hinterlands of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, where also the native is left as yet in possession of his land, and British administration aims only at establishing peace, justice, and safety of access and passage. So far as the white man has any direct industrial aim in these territories it must, at any rate for a long time to come, be limited to attempts to induce the native to grow the products he wants, and to assist him to improve his agricultural processes with this object. That the white element will, in other respects, form an effectual progressive leaven in so vast a population is hardly to be expected.

Men will reap what they sow. To imagine that those who put themselves into contact with uncivilised races with a view to their own economic profit are going morally to improve those savages, is the most simple-minded of self-complacencies. The next step in the argument is generally that, because you are mentally elevating and civilising the native by such contact, you are entitled in bodily matters to coerce him, to punish him for disobedience. If you persist in this deluded course of conduct, one day you are "treacherously" shot by the native, and you have to "give him a lesson." Or you find the natives are dying out under your treatment, and then you speak of a mysterious law of Nature. The causes of the extinction of native races are only a mystery at a distance. On the spot they are easily recognisable as violence and starvation and civilised drinks and diseases. Extermination, in fact, is the only way, on that road, to get out of your difficulties.

On the countries where the white man has, with whatever philanthropic excuse or pretext, enslaved or used the black for his own economic profit, a curse still rests; on the West Indies; on the Southern States of America. They are sad lands. The harvest has been reaped and carried; the fortunes are spent the industrial system has perished. Only in so far as the contact was not altogether one of economic self-seeking, only because of human

recognition and human influence between the races, has there been any permanent gain. Where colour prejudice rules, where human identity is most passionately disowned, whether it be in the White Republic or in the Black, there the prospect of the emergence of a wholesome society is least hopeful; where prejudice has died down and men take rank on their merits, there the community shows most promise.

Fortunately, as there is no such thing as the pure "economic man" of politico-economic hypothesis, so there is no European nation that is purely economic in its contact with the natives. (The Directorate of the Congo Free State is not such a nation, and, unfortunately, not responsible to any such organic community.) If it is the hungry or enterprising adventurers of a nation that come into contact with coloured races, their ultimate support rests upon public opinion at home. I have pointed out how, in the British West India Colonies, after the emancipation of the slaves, the system of Crown Government acted as a safeguard to the black against misgovernment by the employing class. And the contact between the races has never been only as between employer and employed; there has always been the religious missionary class, whose attitude, however unenlightened its dogmas, has ever been that of a spiritual brotherhood, and which, with whatever follies

of method, has fought unweariedly for the principles of education and enlightenment; and there has generally been the administrative class, also, in motive, largely missionary, or, if doing its work more from public spirit and executive ambition than from sympathetic philanthropy towards the governed, at any rate free from any interest in their exploitation. Where this class is corrupt and cruel the situation is truly desperate. And, finally, the white man who goes out to mix with the coloured in commercial and industrial relations, subdued though his hand may be to what he works in, has human contact at many points with the native, and influences and is influenced by him through them. I have remarked that the power of getting work out of negroes on West Indian estates is almost entirely a matter of the personal qualities of the employer or overseer, and that the relation of master and slave in these colonies and in the United States before emancipation, was one in which personal relations had a far more important place than they have in the relations between the average civilised employer and his hired hand. This was one of the redeeming features of slavery, and this, not the industrial training or discipline which it might have given, but which has left so little result, was the means of its contribution to that progress which the transplanted African unquestionably has made in the lands he now

inhabits. And with regard to that divergence from civilised standards, in regard to ceremonial marriage, which is, perhaps, the greatest cause of scandal and headshaking to the American or English tourist visitor to the West Indies, it must be said that the white man not only destroyed the African's custom of marriage, but sedulously by precept and example, educated him in the looser relations to which he is now addicted.

Those who despise the black man most are those who have failed to get him to do for them something they desired that he should do for their profit, and who have injured and demoralised him in the attempt. Those who despise him least and who are most hopeful of his future, most confident that he can assimilate elements of progress from the white man, are those who have had to do with him in relations where no desire to exploit his labour has intervened. If industry would be good for him and if it is essential that he should learn to be more industrious, the impulse must not come from forcible pressure on the part of the would-be employer, or it will leave no permanent gain, save suspicion and estrangement between the races. It certainly does not leave the habit of industry. That can only be maintained by the stimulus of the worker's own quickened will.

XVI.

SHORT VIEWS AND LONG VIEWS ON WHITE AND BLACK.

The practical politician—every man, that is, who has to decide for immediate action—must need take short views of life. With him it is—eat or be eaten—do or die. Every white man in contact with the African, as a colonist seeking the use of his labour, far more so as a settler establishing his occupancy amongst hostile or suspicious aliens, is under this necessity—a necessity very different from that under which the critical sociologist and the philosophic historian frame their judgments. For mere survival a certain amount of positive selfishness, of greed, of injustice, even of violence, is necessary, even for dwellers in civilised states. The essence of civilisation is to disguise the self-seeking and violence by organising social injustice and corporate class interests, a process which frees the individual from the appearance and consciousness of personal responsibility, whilst infinitely enhancing the emoluments of his organised selfishness. His personal interest, transfigured to him as that of his profession, his class or his country, presents itself in the

gratifying aspect of altruism; his class interest as an essential of social order, his national conquests as God's purpose for the governance of the world. Such altruistic projections of self-interest are necessary for self-respect, and are, in a measure, steps in the evolution of a truly social existence based on consciousness of human fellowship and equality without personal or class-conflict.

In industrial relations everywhere this altruistic projection of immediate self-interest takes form in the class-opposition of capital and labour: in communities of mixed colours it takes form in race-opposition and colour prejudice. It happens that in tropical countries, where white men cannot endure bodily labour, necessity and prejudice combine to establish among them the social convention that the working class in the mixed community shall be of the coloured race, and the corresponding, but not necessarily correlative, demand that the employers shall be the white. So far as the division in industrial relation does really come to correspond with the racial division, the class prejudices and class illusions that arise between the capitalist and proletarian sections of civilised societies energetically reinforce the race prejudices and race illusions that dominate all barbarous peoples, and so quickly impose themselves on any community, however racially mongrel, that develops any sort

of corporate consciousness—as for instance in the recently prevalent absurdity of the myth of the "Anglo-Saxon" Race.

The critical observer of mixed communities can see both these factors of class prejudice at work, and reacting for mutual reinforcement, as to-day in South Africa; but whilst he may quite accurately impute a good deal of the avowed social theory of such communities to the influence of these altruistic projections of personal interest it is quite likely that, if he has no personal experience of the local conditions, he may over-rate the influence of prejudice and under-rate that of the immediate personal necessity of the settler endeavouring to establish and maintain his own existence in alien surroundings, in circumstances in which he has to take short views and act under the stress of the moment for the sake of his own survival and without any pretence of humanitarian principle.

Let me endeavour to state, very briefly, some of the circumstances that impose the short view.

These may, perhaps, be most concisely and generally indicated by pointing out that the uncolonised African is a savage. There is not necessarily racial significance in the condition of savagery or paganism: its opposition is to civilisation or Christianity. The Saxon hordes that invaded Britain were savages: their social codes and customs were

like their mode of subsistence, very similar to those characteristic of contemporary African peoples. Their tribal economy was based on the possession of cattle, the tilling of allotments of communal land, the maintenance of the war-host of all able-bodied free men for plunder and self-defence, the slavery of captives and the conquered and the subjection of women. In such a savage community all secular offences are personal matters. Religious or ceremonial offences—all departments of the practice of witchcraft—are public matters. Presumably the survival and persistence of this ancestral instinct is the reason why the "smelling out" and burning of witches maintained itself in England until quite recently, and why heresy hunting has survived nineteen centuries of Christian teaching. But the really important point for the white immigrant colonist is the personal assessment of the secular offence, what he sees as the immorality of the savage. With the savage killing, theft, and deceit are not subjects of moral judgment except on the profit of their outcome ; there is no restraint of conscience or compunction against them. All killing is mere homicide, and its right or wrong depends as entirely and as exclusively on the value of the life taken as it does in all the feuds of the story of "Burnt Njal." To take your enemy's life is of value to you and your tribe, and accordingly meritorious.

White men, therefore, living in contact with African tribal peoples are living amongst men whose tribal duty it is to be able and ready to kill, and who have not the slightest moral compunction about doing so if they see their interest or their satisfaction in it.

A savage no doubt will not kill without some positive reason for doing so, but the reason that may induce him to do so may seem to the civilised man as horribly trivial as the reasons for many of the killings in the Icelandic Njal Saga. His positive reasons may be of various kinds—private vengeance for injury or the desire for sacrificial "medicine"—or social conspiracy to destroy the invading white man or exterminate him when he has settled. But whatever the sufficient positive motive, there is in the perfect savage no restraint from anything of the nature of "conscience" or moral compunction, the only checks are personal fear of retaliation or failure, or considerations of other personal disadvantage likely to result from the deed.

Moreover, the African, characteristically, decides and acts under direction of the mob-impulse: the control of the collective social sub-consciousness is powerful in all his affairs. The decision of his tribal councils are habitually unanimous—the undivided judgment of the minority is not simply over-ridden by a majority vote—it is transmuted and disappears. As I have said, all the labourers on

a West Indian estate will strike work with a sympathetic unanimity unknown to the best-organised British Trade Union, and the best labour of Africans—digging, tree-felling, railway making, housebuilding—is done in gangs with abundant chatter and singing. When violence and arson, riot and homicide are on hand this irrational contagiousness becomes the greatest danger of mixed communities, as every one knows who has had to do with collections of Africans under the incentive of such excitement, whether in Africa or even, after a century of transplantation and civilisation, in the West Indies.

This knowledge—the latent fear of this uncontrolled possibility in the coloured man, is contributory to an attitude of white towards coloured in mixed communities which is apt itself to appear barbarous. It *is* barbarous in the strict sense of the word, being the reflex in the white man of the black man's temper in this connection. For so long as the white man's life and settlement are in danger, or are believed to be so, he will not take the long view prescribed by the Buddhist and Christian religions, he will not give himself to feed the tiger nor abstain from resisting aggression. He will deem it his first business to secure his own survival and to meet the coloured man on his own ground, if any question of struggle arises. When the savage kills he makes no complaint that the civilised man should kill

back. It may be that the world would advance quicker if the white man abstained from doing so, but that, to the pioneer of settlement, is an off-chance which he may be excused for neglecting, when his life and that of his family and friends are concerned, in comparison with the certainty that if he does not meet the savage in methods that the latter understands, he and his, at anyrate in this life, will not share in that advance. And every man not a missionary who goes into contact with coloured races goes primarily with the purpose and intention of living and maintaining himself: the paramount demand of the logic of his situation is that he should not be killed; that he should kill the native rather, if the latter will not allow him peaceful settlement. The white man in contact with barbarism, however humane, may very well find himself compelled to act barbarously: this is only one of the ways in which contact with inferior peoples may demoralise the civilised man; and the sense of this demoralising influence, on himself and his children, is often a source of resentment to him and a positive factor in the creation of race prejudice. White women especially, I think, hate the black folk amongst whom they live very generally because they feel that association with them demoralises and barbarises their children.

What I have noted as to homicide, namely,

that with the tribal African it is still only judged of by the standard of the mediæval Saxon or Norseman, that is to say as merely a question of the price to be paid by the slayer and his family or gildsmen, and is not judged by any standard of sinfulness or criminality, applies, of course, equally to the spheres of property and sex-relations. They are not the subject of any prescriptive moral judgment. If no one that can retaliate is injured, there is no offence; and injury to any person of influence can be punished or redressed by the payment of the proper price. Morality in such matters is not yet existent, or is at best quite rudimentary. And the man of short views, in contact and in dealings with races devoid of his accustomed moral standards is under strong inducement to waive his own and to deal with the savage as the savage would deal with him and with his own fellows. He has only his own self-respect to restrain him. The respect of the savage for any moderation on his part will be very far to seek.

The colonist, living as he does under a different necessity from the civilised home dweller, inevitably comes to take short views in practical matters in regard to which the latter has leisure and security to assert more far seeing doctrines. I have spoken above of his code of industrial morality, which is not that of the uncivilised African, nor of his transplanted descendant in the New World.

The industrial code of slave morality dominates native communities. It is because the native uncolonised African, conquered in war, has still before him only the same two alternatives as the ancient Greek had or the middle-age Saxon, that is death or thraldom, it is because his women do not own themselves and are in perpetual tutelage, that he accepts slavery, as in the Congo State and the Island of San Thomé, resignedly and fatalistically, as he accepted it in the days when Bristol grew great on the profits of the export slave trade. Here again is temptation to the conquering white man to encroach on his liberties—to deal with him as he would not deal with a civilised white worker. I have noticed that other reaction of the slave morality, that makes it the test of a free man not to work under pledge or contract for any employer, and the test of a wise and clever man to do as little work under compulsion or for pay as he can manage to get through with. The colonist, under this different necessity, requiring labour from the black man to keep himself, as the capitalist and endowed class at home need it from the wage worker, and finding he cannot obtain it on the same terms, is here again under temptation to take short views, to accommodate his practice to his environment, to preach coercion and discipline as absolutely necessary, and to see, as the natives see, no moral harm in them.

Is it wonderful that white men, settled among black, confronted every day with habits and mental attitudes so different from their own, so hostile to their interests, to their very life, so constantly provocative to what they feel to be their own baser tendencies, should in defence of their own ideals, if not in self-excuse or self protection, conceive and assert the theory of an insurmountable race-barrier? And yet it is indisputable that where the African has ceased to be un-moral, has learnt through Christianity or Islam a generalised conception of obligation, another standard of right and wrong than that of mere personal advantage or grievance, where he has acquired full and equal citzenship, where industrial difficulties have solved themselves by the practical emancipation of the black labourer, race prejudice has become the mere shadow of its former self. I have already quoted Professor Royce, of Harvard, in aid of my statements on this point in regard to the British West Indies. I wish to reinforce the conclusions I have set forth from my own observation on the subject of race prejudice in its widest aspect by quoting further from the same notable essay* :—

"Scientifically viewed, these problems of ours turn out not to be so much problems caused by anything which is essential to the

*International Journal of Ethics, April, 1906. "Race Questions and Race Prejudices," by Josiah Royce.

existence or to the nature of the races of men themselves. Our so-called race problems are merely the problems caused by our antipathies.

"Now the mental antipathies of men, like the fears of men, are very elemental, widespread, and momentous mental phenomena. But they are also in their fundamental nature extremely capricious, and also extremely suggestible mental phenomena. Let an individual man alone and he will feel antipathies for certain other human beings very much as any young child does, namely, quite capriciously, just as he will feel all sorts of capricious likings for people. But, train a man first to give names to his antipathies, and then to regard the antipathies thus named as sacred merely because they have a name, and then you get the phenomena of racial hatred, of religious hatred, of class hatred, and so on indefinitely. Such trained hatreds are peculiarly pathetic and peculiarly deceitful, because they combine in such a subtle way the elemental vehemence of the hatred that a child may feel for a stranger, or a cat for a dog, with the appearance of dignity and solemnity and even of duty which a name gives. Such antipathies will always play their part in human history. But what we can do about them is to try not to be fooled by them, not to take them too seriously because of their mere name. We can remember that they are

childish phenomena in our lives, phenomena on a level with a dread of snakes, or of mice, phenomena that we share with the cats, and with the dogs, not noble phenomena, but caprices of our complex nature.

"All such elemental social experiences are highly suggestible. Our social training largely consists in the elimination or in the intensification or in the systematizing of these original reactions through the influence of suggestion and of habit. Hence the anti pathy,once by chance aroused,but then named, imitated, insisted upon, becomes to its victims a sort of sacred revelation of truth, sacred merely because it is felt, a revelation merely because it has won a name and a social standing.

"What such sacred revelations, however, really mean, is proved by the fact that the hungry traveller, if deprived of his breakfast long enough, by means of an accidental delay of his train, or the tired camper in the forest, may readily come to feel whatever racial antipathy you please against his own brother, if the latter then wounds social susceptibilities which the abnormal situation has made momentarily hyperæsthetic.

"For my part, I am a member of the human race, and this is a race which is, as a whole, considerably lower than the angels, so that the whole of it very badly needs race elevation. In this need of my race I personally and very

deeply share. And it is in this spirit only that I am able to approach our problem."

The long view—the view justified by history and experience, with regard to mixed communities and racial distinctions—is that nothing final can be asserted with regard to them; only that the special characteristics of the moral and social principles which we now find prevailing in savage peoples, of alien breed to ourselves, have mostly been characteristics of peoples of all races in the corresponding stage of social evolution, and are, therefore, not racial. They will yield to the same, or similar influences, as have eliminated them from our own societies. But as they have taken centuries to transmute among the Caucasian races, it is not to be supposed that they will vanish in a generation, or by the mere operation of "conversion" in the African of to-day.

Nor, I think, is it likely that some of them will vanish at all. I have not in these chapters attempted a complete discussion of the problem of mixed communities. I have only entered into these questions where they have obvious connexion with the difficulties that arise out of inter-racial relations in the industrial category, and it is because these relations tend continually to reduce themselves to those of master and servant, employer and employee, that my treatment of the subject as one of "White Capital and

Coloured Labour" has been even so discursive in regard to race-relations as it has been. My argument with regard to them has been that race-prejudice is the fetish of the man of short views; and that it is a short-sighted and suicidal creed, with no healthy future for the community that entertains it. At the same time a natural, intelligible, and, to some degree, an excusable and justifiable view. That the long view demands the contrary attitude, to recognise that race limitations not only do not hold good eternally against educational influences, but cannot be relied on as a foundation for any sound political architecture; that the human will is wider than the racial will, and will not, in any mixed community, rest content within its own embodiment. The more backward race, the class adjudged servile, will constantly be infringing the monopolies of the leading race, asserting and discovering equality with the white man in spheres which he has conceived naturally his own province. The assignment of the status of labourer to the coloured man is of no avail when he can refuse to give his labour, and it seems to me that in the sphere of industry one great prerogative of white civilisation is likely to remain its exclusive privilege. The impression I have derived from my survey is that the methods of the capitalist *Grande Industrie*, the perfect organisation of capital and wage proletariat, that has developed itself in

civilised countries through land monopoly and industrial anarchy, do not, and do not appear likely to commend themselves to African races, that they cannot be imposed upon them except through a policy of exclusion from land, and of forced labour; and that any attempt to force those races into them not only does not benefit them, but is likely to prove disastrous to both black and white.

If the white colonist cannot compel the coloured to work for him, and cannot live in tropical lands unless he can induce his co-operation, the basis of his supremacy in those countries must rest—as in fact it does rest—on a spiritual superiority. The white man can lead and govern the savage because and in so far as he is not himself a savage. The principles by virtue of which the white European has obtained a leadership which even Islam cannot contest with him are principles which deny race distinctions. There is his strength. If he goes back from them he becomes himself a barbarian, and though he may exterminate the black he cannot lead or live with him.

I have known West Indian negroes thank God for Slavery, as having been a means to their people of advance towards freedom unknown to the Savage. But I have never known them thank the white man for slavery. It is not the slave-owning side or the slave-driving section of the civilised white that has

freed them; they know that the elements in white civilisation and character through which they have attained their social and spiritual freedom are not the same as those that brought them into slavery. Of the side of human character that enslaves, and of the motives for enslavement, the African knows far too much for him ever to give the white man credit for educational purpose in any aggression he may make on his liberties. Genuinely philanthropic and honest advocates there may be of the Educational policy; but the African will always regard it with black suspicion. Suspicion, bred of the fear of enslavement and oppression ingrained by generations of savagery, and a cunning that dissembles his true aims, are characteristics deeply rooted and obstinately persistent in the African. The West Indian peasant negro is full of them. He maintains under forms of submission and compliance his independent personal and racial will and judgment. He will not finally take what the white man, in his own personal interest gives him, but what he himself chooses, and can realise. No mixed community can attain unity and health if the white man assumes an attitude which stimulates and maintains this alienating suspicion in the black, or where one governing class bases its polity on the short sighted theory that the dividing habits of Race are permanently stronger than the unifying force of Humanity.

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